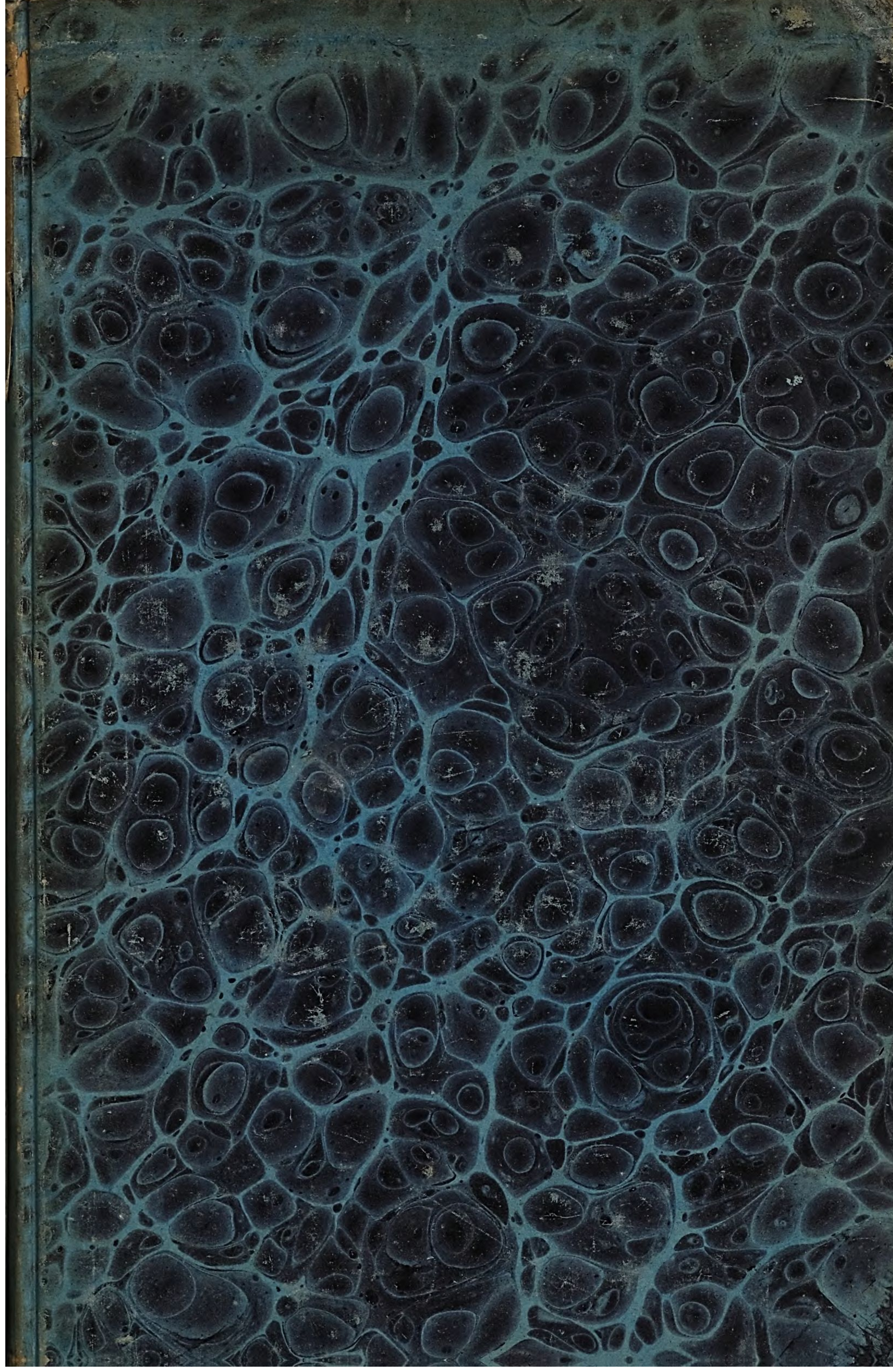




F. XXVI 63/c

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
TO A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
IRRUPTION OF THE KAFIR HORDES,
INTO THE
EASTERN PROVINCE
OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE;
A. D. 1834—35.

PARTS II & III.

GRAHAM'S TOWN:
PRINTED BY MEURANT & GODLONTON, HIGH STREET,
AND SOLD BY A. S. ROBERTSON, CAPE TOWN.

MDCCCXXXVI.

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1880
U.S. DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1880
U.S. DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON

- A. Flag Staff.
- B. Wreck of Brig Mary.
- C. Dock Yard.
- D. Native Hut.



REMARKS.

At Spring Tide, rise is 6 ft.
 Depth laid down is at low Water.
 Depth inside the Bar is marked
 in feet, — outside in fathoms.
 High Water, — full and change, —
 Vho. 30m.

John Coultres Chase del 1835.

ICP workman Drawn on Stone & Lith.
 Cape Town South Africa

PORT NATAL



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
TO A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
IRRUPTION OF THE KAFIR HORDES,
INTO THE
EASTERN PROVINCE
OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
A. D. 1834—35.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE "GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL."

PARTS II & III.

"A commercial man need not be told that COMMERCE is variable and inconstant; that she has often removed her emporiums; and that in many places the once crowded port is resigned to the net of the fisherman. But in those places commerce was never seen in connexion with RELIGION. She was the handmaid of wealth but not of charity. Let us make her the instrument of both, and, as the ancients with their gods in time of danger, we shall throw chains about her, and fix the fugitive to our shores for ever."—RICHARD WATSON.

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MDCCCXXXVI.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE compiler of the subsequent pages stated on the publication of the preceding part that he had been induced to publish it at the suggestion of several of his friends, who were of opinion that its appearance might, at that particular juncture, be of some importance to the general cause of humanity and justice.

The opinion thus expressed has, he is happy to say, been fully verified by the result. The facts brought forward have, in many instances, decided the wavering ; whilst they have enabled those, who had not the leisure or the means of consulting the colonial records, to form, at little labor, a just opinion of our frontier policy, and of the relative character of the native tribes and European settlers : and it is satisfactory to know that amongst all the facts brought forward, no attempt has been made to confute any one of them ; whilst all the evidence since adduced has strengthened every part of the statement ; and proved that in making out the case of the injured inhabitants of the border districts the compiler has been scrupulously guarded in not giving to any part of it either a false colouring or an undue bias.

Under ordinary circumstances the compiler would never have obtruded his opinions on the notice of the public ; but when surrounded by his ruined friends and

neighbours,—when an ear and eye-witness to the bitter lamentations of the widow and fatherless,—and when conscious that all this dreadful amount of loss and suffering had been primarily occasioned by the aid of systematic calumny, which had not only had a most injurious effect upon the British public in general, but upon the authorities at home,—it was not a moment to be fastidious, and hence he was induced to step forward in defence of the general cause ; assured that the investigation of TRUTH was the only means by which they could arrive at that redress which, on a principle of equity, they had a right to expect at the hands of a humane and paternal government.

In submitting this portion of the work to the public the compiler begs to remark that he has only been anxious to bring together, in a simple and consecutive form, those various facts connected with the frontier trade as may shew distinctly the value of this section of the colony to the mother country. In his sketch of Kaffraria he has been careful not to go over beaten ground ; and hence he has omitted those particulars relative to the customs of that people which have been already given by Messrs. Brownlee, Morgan, and others ; he has endeavoured to collect information of a novel kind, and to supply what may be deficient in those who have preceded him. He cannot be insensible to the defective way in which he has executed his task, but he nevertheless indulges the hope that while he has added somewhat to our stock of information, he has not given offence to any,—except it be to those whose proceedings and public conduct are a fair and legitimate subject for animadversion.

Graham's Town, 25th January, 1836.

TRADE OF THE FRONTIER.

Origin and progress of the Frontier Trade.—The Kafir Trade.—Fair at Clay Pits.—At Fort Willshire.—At the Chusie.—Removal of Restrictions.—Dispersion of Traders throughout Kafirland.—Rapid rise of Port Elizabeth and Graham's Town.—Port Natal.—Murder of Lieut. Farewell and Mr. Thackwray.—Fatal expedition of Dr. Cowie and Green.—The Northern Tribes.—Illicit Traffic in arms and Gunpowder.—Agricultural Retrospect.—Advantages of fine-woolled Sheep.—Exports and Imports at the end of 1834, &c.

THE rise and progress of the frontier trade are deserving of being recorded in the history of the Cape of Good Hope, as affording a striking instance of that indomitable spirit of perseverance and enterprise, which marks both the Dutch and English character, in reference to commercial pursuits in general.

In tracing the origin of this trade, we cannot fail to refer it at once to the early disappointments and sufferings of the British settlers. It has been already shewn, and it is necessary again to advert to it, that on their arrival on this frontier, they were placed in a situation of extreme peril and difficulty. Of this, however, they were unconscious, and hence, without repining, they endeavoured to establish themselves on the soil which was to form their future home. With an ardor which has never been surpassed, they proceeded to erect dwellings for their families, and to bring a por-

tion of the lands allotted to them under a course of tillage. With the most provident care, a large breadth of land was cropped with wheat, and so diligent were they to accomplish this—as they deemed it paramount object—that many instances might be adduced where the settler has laboriously wrought from before day light in the morning, till long after the close of day, in cultivating his land by spade husbandry. When night had thrown its shade over every object, still by the light of the moon has he continued his exertions. Full of hope, the emigrant looked forward with cheerfulness for that reward of his labour which he was not destined to receive; as the wheat crops, before they had arrived at maturity, were attacked throughout the entire settlement, by a fatal disease called the “rust,” and the whole perished. Year after year the same efforts were made, and the same result followed. During this period many of the settlers flocked to Graham’s Town, some to Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet, and a few wandered as far as to Cape Town, where they engaged in those pursuits to which they had been accustomed in their native country.

There were, however, a considerable number of the settlers whose former habits held out no inducement to exchange a rural occupation for the toil of the mechanic, and these still continued to struggle with the difficulties of their situation, in a way that may be better imagined than described. Several of those who so remained, had been located on the very verge of the Fish River Bush, and even in the open prairies formed amidst and by the thicket itself, notwithstanding it was then infested by the wandering and lawless Kafirs. The two parties soon came into collision; but as the emigrants entertained no prejudices on

account of color, their sable neighbours were treated, in spite of a rigid system of non-intercourse laid down by the government, with a degree of kindness and attention to which they had been unaccustomed, and which was rewarded ultimately by the murder, at different periods, of several of the unwary settlers. In spite, however, of these untoward circumstances, a mutual understanding took place between the new comers and the adjacent tribes, and an active traffic commenced in ivory, which was readily exchanged by the Kafirs for beads and other valueless articles of a like description. It was impossible for this traffic to continue without attracting the notice of the frontier authorities, and accordingly the most vigorous measures were adopted to suppress it, but in defiance of every effort it was still persevered in. Under cover of night, the dauntless settler would plunge into the mighty thickets and most intricate ravines of the Fish River, there to hold parley with the treacherous Kafir, and to negotiate for the sale of ivory and cattle, in exchange for a few glass beads or yards of brass wire. Many were the hair-breadth escapes of these desperate adventurers at this period. The thickets in this part of the country were infested in every part by immense troops of elephants and herds of buffalos, either of which, when alarmed or molested in these their native wilds, it was extremely hazardous to meet after night fall; and in several instances which have come to the knowledge of the author, has the smuggler escaped destruction only by the fleetness and mettle of his steed.

This illicit traffic, though it cannot be justified, may be greatly palliated, by a careful consideration of the actual circumstances of the persons engaged in it, and of the impolitic measures of the go-

vernment in the original system of location. Under an erroneous impression of the fertility of the soil, the settlement had been planned with an especial view to agricultural operations. The then governor of the colony states distinctly in an official paper, under date 12th Nov. 1819, a few months before their arrival, that "the settlers were to be encouraged in their agricultural pursuits, rather than in the maintenance of cattle;" and in accordance with this principle, the lands allotted to them were so limited as not to admit of extensive grazing; hence, on the successive failure of the wheat crops, the settlers were forced to have recourse to new modes of life for a subsistence, and any means, however desperate the hazard, which offered a chance of provision for their respective families, were seized on and pursued with the greatest avidity. It was also futile for the government to attempt to interdict all intercourse between the Kafirs and colonists; on the contrary, it would have been far more politic and wise to have adopted some regulation which might have permitted a fair and open traffic, and have promoted a good understanding between both the parties concerned. The good policy of a measure of this kind had been long felt, but still not adopted. Lord Charles Somerset, in his conference with Gaika, proposed to him a "bartering intercourse between the two nations, and Sir R. S. Donkin, in 1821, actually issued a proclamation establishing a fair on the banks of the Keiskamma, to which the colonists and Kafirs might legally resort for mutual barter.* Be-

* Several of the provisions of this Proclamation are extremely salutary, and shews clearly that Sir Rufane S. Donkin had a correct knowledge of his subject; the 9th and 10th clauses run thus:

9th.—The disposal of Spirits, Wines, Beers, or other liquors, whether by sale, barter, or gift, is peremptorily forbidden; and should the Landdrost discover any such to have been brought to the fair, (unless for the immediate want of

fore, however, this act could be brought into operation, the acting governor was superseded by the return to the colony of Lord Charles Somerset, and we hear nothing further of an open traffic until August, 1822, when a futile attempt was made by government to open a trade with the Kafirs, on a spot generally called "the Kafir clay pits." This spot had been appropriated for the location of a British settler named x B——, and who was generally understood to be actively engaged in the illicit traffic to which we have already referred.* To those unacquainted with the peculiarities of the Kafir people, it may be necessary to explain that an article in great request among them is red clay, and with which as much pains is taken to adorn their heads, as is ever bestowed by the most finished coxcomb, or the most exquisite *belle*, in the refined and polished circles of fashion in civilized countries. By means of an iron pin, the short woolly hair which distinguishes the negro races, is tortured into minute curls, each about the dimensions of a pea, and is then deeply tinged with the argillaceous earth or ochre, which is found in abundance in this particular part of the country, and as far as we have heard, in this only. The government very naturally suspected that one cause of the collision of the Kafirs and the settlers on this part of the frontier, was the

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those persons who may be in possession of them) he is hereby authorised and directed to seize and spill the same, and to inflict such punishment on the bringer, or distributor, (including corporal punishment) as shall to him appear equitable. The consequence of intoxicating the savages, or any proportion of them, might, and probably would, prove fatal to the best interests of the settlement.

10.—It is in like manner most strictly forbidden, to take to the fair for sale or barter, or to exchange or give away there, any fire-arms or ammunition. Any person offending against this regulation, shall be punished by the superintending magistrate, as in the cases alluded to in the last article, &c.

* Mr. B. was barbarously butchered near his place of residence, at an early period of the late irruption.—Vide subsequent Narrative.

temptation held out by the locality of this, to the Kafir, precious earth ; and finding that its proclamation, and even the efforts of the local authorities on the spot, were alike powerless, they determined upon maintaining a monopoly in their own hands, and to this end established a fair at "the pits," under the following regulations :

Whereas His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to direct that a Barter should be established with the Kafir people by the Officers of His Majesty's Colonial Government in ivory, skins, &c., for which articles the Colonial Government will make a return of red clay to the Kafirs ; and whereas it has been determined that the time and place for the said Barter of ivory, skins, &c. for red clay, shall be fixed, for the present, for the period of the full moon of every month at the red clay pits, situated at the Komst River, at the edge of the Fish River Bush ; the following regulations, to which every person is hereby required to conform, have been adopted for conducting the same, and the 4th day of June next, has been fixed for the first day of such barter :—

I.

The Market will be held in the presence of the Landdrost of Albany, and the Commandant of the Frontier, or such persons as they may respectively appoint, and will open one hour after sun rise, and terminate one hour before sun-set.

II.

No one shall be permitted to attend the Market, unless with the Landdrost's consent.

III.

No one shall be allowed to quit the Market, unless he has given notice of his intention to the Landdrost, or to his representative.

IV.

Every one found on the Market without the Landdrost's concurrence shall be immediately apprehended, and proceeded against as a disturber of good order.

V.

A person will be appointed to conduct the trade and barter on the part of Government, and a relative rate of price or value between the articles of barter will be established, and promulgated at the Market.

VI.

All trading or bartering must be done in presence of the Clerk of the Market, or the person acting as such.

VII

The Clerk of the Market shall be obliged to keep a correct registry of all transactions, and of all the articles bartered for, which registry shall afterwards be forwarded to Government.

VIII.

Any person or persons found to have had, or to have attempted to have, any dealing or traffick with the Kafirs, contrary to these regulations, shall be punished according to the Law.

IX.

No person will be permitted to have in their possession at the Market, any spirits, wines, beers, or other liquors, which is peremptorily forbidden, under severe summary punishment.

X.

No person shall come to the Market with fire-arms or ammunition.

XI.

The Commandant of the Frontier having made the necessary arrangements with the Kafir Chiefs, as to the number of Kafirs to be allowed to attend the Fair or Market on each occasion, and as to the pass which will be required to be produced, no Kafirs will be allowed to attend or to barter for the red clay, who should not have complied with these arrangements, and no Kafir will be allowed to come *armed*.

XII.

The Landdrost and Commandant will be attended by as many Interpreters as can be conveniently collected for facilitating the intercourse.

Signed,

HARRY RIVERS, Landdrost.

Graham's Town, 25th May, 1822.

Such were the regulations under which the first market established for a legalized traffic with the Kafirs was conducted. They are curious, as displaying the extreme caution with which the Government permitted the natives to pass into the colony, and its jealous dread of the growing intimacy between that people and the British Settlers. The measure proposed was, however, by no means adequate to the end in view. The Kafirs soon ceased, when the novelty of the thing had passed away, to attend the fair; they saw there was nothing like reciprocity; that they were required to pay for a little red earth, which nature furnished in abundance without effort, with ivory, an article that could only be obtained at risk

and labour, or with skins, which were really useful and valuable to them; and hence the traffic soon languished, and after a few trials it was finally abandoned. Not so with the illicit traffic. The vigilance of the Government appeared but to operate as a spur to the exertions of both natives and colonists; and it was very soon ascertained by those in the secret that a most important and lucrative trade might, under proper management be carried on with the tribes of the interior. The authorities endeavoured to stem the torrent, but their efforts were futile. Patrols were incessantly out traversing the jungles of the Fish River; but the traders in most instances eluded their vigilance by selecting the hour of darkness, and the most intricate by-paths through the deepest recesses of the forest. On one occasion a patrol of the Cape Native Corps fell in with a party of smugglers returning from a nocturnal journey across the border. These instantly plunged into the dense thicket to escape detection, choosing different directions; but, unfortunately, one poor man, the father of a large family, chanced in his progress to come in contact with a band of Kafirs returning from the colony with plundered cattle, among which were some belonging to himself. The savages finding themselves thus detected, *in flagrante delicto* instantly sheathed their assagais in the body of the unfortunate man. The corpse was soon afterwards discovered on the scene of the fatal rencounter, and at no great distance from the dwelling of the sufferer.

There is no data extant which can furnish a correct account of the value or extent of the traffic carried on at this time with the Kafir people; but there is reason to believe it was by no means inconsiderable. Ivory began to be eagerly sought after by the regular

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established traders at Graham's Town; and for which they readily paid a price, varying from 2s. 9d. to 3s. 6d. per lb. At this period, as we have already remarked incidentally, the forests of the Fish River and the Koonap, as well as many other parts of the Albany District, were infested by large numbers of Elephants; and it was not long before several of the more enterprising and daring of the settlers engaged with ardour in the toilsome pursuit of hunting these huge animals in their native wilds. The boldness and intrepidity displayed by these persons have furnished the theme of many an anecdote, which it would be beside our purpose to relate; suffice it to say that, with the exception of one fatal accident, their attacks upon these lordly "denizens of the forest" were made with perfect impunity and with so much success that at the present day every thicket and kloof within the colony, and for some distance beyond, has been entirely cleared of them. The exception referred to, was in the case of a young man named Thackwray, —who had greatly signalized himself by his coolness and courage in his hunting exploits. Accompanied by a few Hottentots, each armed with a firelock of sufficient magnitude to carry a four ounce ball, he would frequently penetrate the most extensive and impervious thickets, from which he often would not emerge for ten or twelve days together, the party depending all this time entirely on their guns for subsistence. It was the usual practice of the young man we have named, to await the approach of his victim, until within a few yards of him, when his mighty "roar" seldom failed to bring the animal to the ground. At length in one of his attacks the wounded and enraged Elephant pursued him so instantaneously that his life became the forfeit of his temerity. His body was

dreadfully trampled, by the infuriated animal in the presence of his affrighted companions; who ultimately escaped to Graham's Town with the tidings of the fatal catastrophe.*

It will easily be inferred from the foregoing remarks that such a state of affairs could not long continue. Distress, and with it a considerable clamour against the short-sighted policy of the Government in prohibiting a traffic which held out a promise of extensive benefit to the whole settlement, became very general. The authorities found that their power, backed, merely by the handful of troops then stationed on this frontier, was utterly inadequate to counteract the evil by any preventive measures; and at length, as a last resource, the Governor, Lord C. Somerset, resolved to do, what he never should have ~~never~~ left in abeyance, viz. to open the fair projected by Sir R. S. Donkin, three years before.

Accordingly on the 23d July, 1824, this fair was established by Proclamation; and on the following month it was commenced near the gates of Fort Willshire, on the Keiskamma River. The effects resulting from this measure were striking; the illicit trade which had been attended with so many serious evils was annihilated at once; and there was a perfect rush of adventurers to the new market. Up to this period the only produce in great request was ivory. Hides and horns were not considered of any importance as articles of merchandize. The former, when cut into thongs had been generally used in lieu of cordage, and for a variety of purposes, for which a much cheaper material is now

* For a most interesting account of the enterprise and courage exhibited at this period by the British Settlers in their hunting exploits, we refer our readers to Lieut. Rose's "Four Years in South Africa."

substituted. On the opening of the Kafir trade it was however quickly perceived that this description of produce might be obtained in sufficient abundance as to become an article of valuable export to the mother country. It may also be remarked that, although the terms of the Proclamation were in great part a mere transcript of those promulgated by Sir R. S. Donkin in 1821, yet that one important addition was made thereto, and which deserves particular notice, inasmuch as it has a direct tendency both to advance the interests of the parent country, and to civilize the barbarous natives. The measure referred to is set forth in the 11th clause of the Proclamation in the following terms:—"The articles most desirable to induce the Kafirs to purchase would be cloths of every description. Woollen and cotton articles of any kind that they could be tempted to receive, particularly blankets; also the leather trousers of the colony, knives, tinder-boxes, agricultural and horticultural implements; tea, coffee, sugar; hatchets, cast-iron cooking pots and kettles, &c. Buttons, beads, and trinkets, are to be limited, though not entirely prohibited; that is, not a staple commodity, such as ivory, hides, &c. are to be purchased solely by beads, buttons, and trinkets; but beads, buttons, and trinkets, are allowed in barter combined with any of the above-mentioned articles."

So much excitement did this fair occasion on its first establishment, that it was deemed expedient in some degree to check it. Persons of all descriptions flocked to the scene of traffic. Mechanics forsook their legitimate callings; the market was soon overstocked with buyers—consisting, not alone of *bona fide* traders, but of those who had gone thither from idleness, or from motives of curiosity. This evil,

however, was of but short duration. The licence which had at first been issued gratuitously and without much discrimination, was required to have affixed to it a stamp of the value of eighty Rixdollars, (£6),—a regulation which quickly excluded all those who did not intend to follow the trade as a means of future livelihood.

From this period the trade began to assume a steady character; and so extensive and lucrative was it, that, it is said, the value of beads, brass-wire, and buttons, disposed of by one mercantile house at Graham's Town, between the months of August and September, of the year 1824, amounted to 32,700 Rixdollars, for which ivory, gums, and hides, were received in exchange.* Within eighteen months from its commencement the value of native produce, chiefly ivory, obtained in barter for those comparatively worthless articles, amounted to the sum of £32,000 sterling. It will easily be imagined that such a flood of wealth pouring into the colony, could not fail to arouse to the utmost stretch the energies of the adventurous trader, as well as the commercial rivalry of those from whom they obtained their supplies; and who at the same time were the medium of transit of the Kafir produce from the colonial frontier to Cape Town, or to the mother country direct. This commercial rivalry, however, by being pushed too far was exceedingly injurious, and had very nearly, about two years from the commencement of the fair, ended in the ruin of the traders, and the annihilation of the trade.

The Kafir people are in their taste for ornaments extremely capricious. Fashion with them is a matter of high moment, but then it is more than ordinarily

* Vide Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry; dated 3d Oct. 1828.

variable ; their humour is so fickle, that an article of dress sought after with the greatest avidity to-day, and prized at the highest value, is to-morrow spurned at, or thrown aside with perfect indifference as utterly worthless. Thus it happened among the traders ; he who chanced to hit the prevailing taste, commanded the market for the time being ; valuable produce poured in upon him from every quarter ; and almost any price was given by him for a supply of the precious article then in demand. Under such circumstances eighty Rixdollars, (£6,) per lb., have been given, and given eagerly, for beads, the prime cost of which might be about nine-pence or one shilling. The cupidity of the traders, however, soon brought down its own punishment. It was very clear that this fictitious value could not be maintained, unless by a monopoly of the article in request ; and hence, by endeavouring to effect this object, without calculating sufficiently on the caprice of the natives, a great proportion of the traders were in a moment plunged into difficulties, and the successful exertions of many previous months lost, by some sudden whim respecting the colour or shape of a paltry ornament. So much did the profits of this trade fluctuate about this time, that we have been assured by one of the most active and persevering merchants in Graham's Town, that a parcel of beads, which had been ordered by him from Italy, suffered a depreciation in value from £8,000 to £600, merely by a delay of a few days, occasioned by his agent declining to forward them by a vessel on the eve of sailing for the Cape, and for which freight higher than usual by a few pounds was demanded.

The embarrassments of the traders at this period were not without a good effect. They sobered those

who had been borne along by a giddy whirl of success; they ultimately excluded, by plunging them into inextricable difficulties, such as were ill-qualified for the pursuit; and the trade itself acquired in consequence an appearance of more steadiness and permanency. Greater efforts were made to introduce really useful articles; and thus a nearer approximation was made to that reciprocity of exchange, without which it is futile to expect any trade whatever to be flourishing and stable. Still the advantage was greatly on the side of the colonist; and indeed it was requisite that he should have had the stimulus of large profits to induce him to make a journey every week of forty-five miles,—the distance of Fort Willshire from Graham's Town—by a road winding through the Fish River thicket before described, and presenting to the traveller little else than a succession of steep rocky ridges, thickly strewn with loose rolling fragments, which had once been the projecting points of the immediate substrata, or broken from the neighbouring cliffs. A journey of ninety miles every seven days through such a country was a work of no ordinary difficulty, either for horse or rider,—to say nothing of transporting produce, when obtained, from the fair to Graham's Town.

Equally toilsome was it to the natives, many of whom resorted to the scene of traffic from distant parts of Kafirland bearing the produce intended for sale on their heads. Happy was he who could command a pack Ox for this purpose. To obviate these inconveniences in some measure, another fair was opened on the 19th January 1827 near the Chusie River, also in the ceded territory, about 20 miles South of Fort Willshire. This project however did not succeed, and after giving it a fair trial, at the end of 1828 it was finally given up. The produce obtained at this fair during

the two years it continued comprised about 2,000 lbs. of ivory. Its total value did not exceed £1,500. The Government at this period was not only apprised of the many inconveniences of the system under which the trade was conducted, but it saw the remedy,—namely, the removal of the restrictions; still it had not sufficient confidence to have recourse at once to means which appeared pregnant with difficulties. At length, however, an innovation was made on the original system, and about the time of the opening the Chusie fair a modification was made so far as to permit traders to embark in what was designated the “Interior private trade” with this proviso;—the boundary was to be crossed behind the Winterberg range of mountains, so as if possible not to divert the trade from the established fair at Fort Willshire. Those who embarked in this new trade very soon found that it was far more lucrative and certain than attending the fair; abundance of produce, especially hides, was obtained at the kraals of the natives who finding themselves released from a tedious and laborious journey readily disposed of it on advantageous terms to the trader. The fair soon began to languish in consequence of this innovation, and whilst the interior trader was most beneficially employed the frequenters at the Fort were toiling weekly over the most execrable road in the country for little or no remuneration. Dissatisfaction and disputes were the natural results of this state of affairs; the frontier authorities, and the Government at Cape Town were incessantly plying with complaints of the infringements of the “interior trader” on the privileges of the Fort Willshire Fair, and so clamorous and pertinacious were the parties, that at length at the end of 1830 an entire sweep was made of those restric-

tions which prohibited the crossing the boundary ; full liberty was permitted to the traders to pass into Kafirland ; and the fair simultaneously with, and as the natural consequences of, this regulation ceased to exist.* Up to this period the value of Kafir produce which passed the boundary from the commencement of the fair may be fairly estimated at from £60 to £70,000 sterling.

Here we may pause a moment to enquire by what *right* did the Government authorise by a public act British subjects to pass into the territories of an independent state. We may naturally ask whether any commercial treaty had been formed by which the trader might be *protected* in his laudable endeavours to enrich the country, and to extend British commerce

* The following is the preamble of the Ordinance, embodying the regulations referred to :

“ Whereas, the trade carried on beyond the land-boundaries of the colony by the inhabitants of the colony, and the Kafirs, and other nations and tribes residing in Africa, beyond the said boundaries, has much encreased of late years, and the improved relations of peace and commerce existing between them respectively, render it expedient to give greater facilities to the commercial operations of persons trading beyond the said boundaries than heretofore, under such regulations as shall provide for the more prompt and effectual punishment of any acts of outrage or misconduct, committed by such traders or their servants, which may endanger the continuance of the beneficial intercourse, which at present exists with such nations: Be it therefore enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the Civil Commissioners of the several districts of the colony respectively which abut upon the said boundaries, to grant a licence to trade beyond the said boundaries of the colony to any of His Majesty's subjects who shall apply for the same, and who shall satisfy the Civil Commissioner that he is a person of good character, and fit to be entrusted with such a licence.”

By this act the amount of licence was fixed at £3 per annum. It was also provided, that the trader should produce two sureties, who should enter into a recognizance of £50 for the good conduct of himself and his servants, whilst beyond the boundary,—that, in case of attack or aggression on them, they would only act in self-defence,—that they would not give, sell, or barter, fire-arms or ammunition to the natives,—and that they would not, “ either direct or indirect,” kidnap, purchase, or bring within the boundary of the colony, any person without his free will and consent.

The penalty of illicit trade in gunpowder, was fixed at £50, together with the wagon, or other conveyance in which might be found.

For bringing any native into the colony without his own consent a fine of £100.

For passing the boundary, for the purposes of Trade without a Licence Penalty £50.

into the interior of this vast, populous, but unknown, continent? We answer, none were made with any such view; on the contrary, when the trade was in a moment, as it were, annihilated, many of the traders massacred, and their property seized on by the treacherous Kafirs—the Executive Council of Government stated officially through the Governor of the colony—in reply to a memorial which had been addressed to him by the Merchants of Graham's Town, praying for some assistance which might relieve them from immediate embarrassment—that “the extension of that trade was an act of the Government and not a *right* of the trader; that Government had thought fit to establish certain regulations under which the trade might be entered into, and those were devised *not for the protection of the traders*, but of those nations with whom they were to trade.”

On this subject “The Graham's Town Journal” of the day contained the following observations:—If we rightly understand the passage above quoted, it gives such a disclosure of the Government policy in our relations with a Foreign power as is truly startling, and is an avowal of principles which are equally impolitic and unstatesman-like. Of course the extension of the Kafir trade, like all other public measures, *was* the *act* of the Government; but how the Council can venture to put forth the startling declaration—that when the Government of a country, by a public edict, opens a trade with a foreign power, no *right* is thereby given to the trader to embark in it, is a point which we suppose no reasonable man will be disposed to concede. The real state of the question is this:—Government voluntarily threw open the trade, and by this measure, tacitly invited traders to engage in it; licences were issued to such persons as applied for

c. 2.

them, and those licences—from which, be it understood, the Government derived a portion of its revenue—gave the trader a *right* to proceed across the boundary of the Colony, and into the territories of the power with which the traffic was authorised to be carried on. *If the Government did not consult that power, as they might and ought to have done, before permitting the violation of its boundary, the responsibility does not rest with the trader, nor ought he to suffer loss in consequence.*

“The second part of this paragraph is, if possible, still more objectionable. Government, it appears, had thought fit to establish certain regulations under which the trade might be entered into, and these were devised *not* for the protection of the traders, but *of those nations with whom they were to trade.*”

“The real interpretation of this passage is,—that our government has in this case been performing a work of supererogation, and relieving the *Amapakati** of the Kafirs from a very important part of their onerous labors; in other words,—the Council has been engaged not in devising a plan for the extension of *our* commerce, and for the protection of colonial British subjects, but for the benefit of a foreign power,—for the security of a people not amenable to their authority, or within the limits of their jurisdiction! With equal propriety might the British Parliament proceed to enact laws for the protection of Frenchmen within their own country, and at the same time tempt those whom they were bound to defend, and whose interests it was their especial duty

* For the information of those of our readers who may not be conversant with Kafir customs or terms, we may explain that the “*Amapakati*” is the Kafir Council, without whose advice the chiefs never take any step of importance affecting the public interest.

to guard, to place themselves in a situation of great peril, and where it was never intended they should receive protection either of person or property."

"We could scarcely have supposed that any government could have promulgated a doctrine so unprecedented and so pernicious, and we willingly believe that the whole has arisen from misunderstanding. It is by no means optional with a government whether it will or will not afford protection to its subjects when engaged in legalized traffic with a foreign power. Every government, which at all lays claim to liberal and enlightened views, and is worthy the name of government, holds this to be a matter of paramount importance to the prosperity of the people, and generally to the well-being of the country at large. Hence the care that is taken in forming commercial treaties; the great importance that is attached to such relations with foreign powers; and the appointment of Consuls, to guard the rights both personal and commercial of the subjects of the country to which they belong. It is the especial duty of such officers 'to be always on the spot to watch over the commercial interests of the state—whose servant he is; to see that those he is appointed to *protect* are subjected to no unnecessary or unjustifiable demands in conducting their business; in a word, to exert himself to render the condition of the subjects of the country employing him within the limits of his consulship, as comfortable, and their transactions as advantageous and secure as possible.'* 'It is also his duty to protect from insult and imposition his fellow subjects of every description.'†

Vide M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

† Do. Chitty on Commercial Law.

“It will be nothing to the point to argue that the above is only applicable to relations with civilized countries, and therefore will not apply to the Kafirs;—on the contrary it is equally applicable—perhaps it may be said to be even more so—as by opening a trade with a barbarous people there is greater danger to be apprehended, and as a consequence more occasion for the exercise of prudent and energetic preventive measures.”

Nothing surely can shew more clearly the false and dangerous position of the Traders than this avowal of the Council of Government, that the regulations under which they had crossed the Colonial boundary were devised for the protection of the natives, but not for their's. This declaration, in short, involves a principle, the non-attention to which may fairly be considered as the main cause of all those calamities since experienced. Had the Government, before throwing open the trade, consulted the several Kafir Chiefs, and had some well understood and simple treaty, perfectly comprehensible to the natives, and clearly founded on a reciprocity of interest, been entered into—and there was no difficulty whatever to the adoption of such a measure—the inhabitants of this frontier might have been spared all those disasters which have since befallen them. Nor is this ~~is~~ a new doctrine, but one which has been forced on the attention of Government ever since the British Settlers became acquainted with the character of the Kafirs, or aware of the nature of the relations existing between that people and the Colonial Government. Thus the local paper soon after its commencement remarks—“Affairs such as those we have felt it our painful duty to detail (viz. : the hostile collision of the Colonists and Kafirs) must tend to destroy that har-

mony which is so desirable at a time when there are at least two hundred colonists in Kafirland for purposes of trade, and when the value of this traffic amounts at the lowest computation to £30,000 per annum. The advantages of the trade are certainly reciprocal, and it is this, and this alone, which preserves the good understanding that continues to exist, and if this is still to be maintained without interruption, and if the property of our traders in Kafirland is in future to be preserved from the plunder to which it is now daily subjected, *the first measure to be adopted is to enter into some arrangements with the Kafir Chiefs*, by which their individual *interests* may be engaged to repress the plundering expeditions of their people." A few days after this it is observed—"Since our last number was published some of our traders have had to complain of very outrageous conduct towards them on the part of the Kafirs, and it appears certain that if decided measures be not shortly adopted to remedy the evils of the character referred to, the value of the traffic carried on with that people will be greatly reduced by the pillage which is now practised with impunity by them. The Kafirs are by no means disqualified to judge on a question of equity, and on points of this nature their proceedings are as well defined and understood as the common law of England; but so long as the Chiefs benefit by the plunder committed by their dependants, the colonists will continue to suffer in their property to an extent that must at length produce great embarrassment to the trading interest in this part of the Settlement." In a subsequent number it is remarked, that—"If ever our commercial relations with these people are fixed on a firm basis, the whole of the Kafir Chiefs must be consulted, and

it must be made clearly apparent to them, that they only consult their own interest by interdicting the plunder of the colonists. Thanks to Missionary Pioneers, we now stand in a very different position with the Kafirs to what we did ten or twelve years ago. Since then the Kafir tongue has been reduced to a written standard, and the terms of any engagement entered into with them now could not be misunderstood, but might be printed and circulated throughout Kafirland in their own dialect, and taught as a lesson in the numerous schools established in the Kafir territory." To this testimony we may add that of the Commissioners of Inquiry, who urgently direct attention to the "importance of applying some uniform and consistent principles to the intercourse of the colonists with the Kafirs and other tribes, of preventing their collision, and checking the desultory warfare that had prevailed along a considerable portion of the frontier;" and they conclude their report by the following important observation:— "*It is,*" say they, "*at once consolatory and satisfactory to reflect, that any measures which have a tendency to preserve the tranquility of the frontier on this side of Kaffraria, will in the same degree contribute to the prosperity and commercial enterprise of the Colony.*"*

The effects, resulting from the arrival of the British Settlers and the success of the frontier trade, upon the eastern division of the Colony was most extraordinary. Port Elizabeth, for instance, which, on the landing there of the emigrants, in 1820, contained but four houses, exclusive of the Fort itself, and a barrack, with a population of not more than 100

* Vide Parliamentary Papers, No. 282, dated 1 May, 1827.

souls, soon rose to a flourishing mercantile Port, containing upwards of 100 houses, many of them substantial and extensive premises, with a population of 1200 inhabitants, whilst its trade for the year 1829—to which we have now brought this narrative—has been estimated at, Imports £63,491, Exports £59,300. The tonnage of vessels frequenting this port in 1821, was 1961 tons, employing 200 men. In 1830 14,208 tons, employing 500 men.*

Many objections have been made to this Port, but most of them have either been exaggerated or uncalled for. The bay is exposed to the South East Winds, which occasionally blow with great violence; but to counteract this in some degree, the anchorage is remarkably good, and it is the prevalent opinion that if a vessel be well found in anchors and cables, there is little fear of serious accidents. Considering the position on the map of this Bay, its great importance to vessels on the voyage to and from India, its contiguity to the Mauritius, and the extensive and important Island of Madagascar, it may well be a matter of general surprise that so little has been done to improve its natural capabilities. It is admitted on all hands that the construction of two works there are of the utmost importance, viz.:—a Light House on Cape Receife—a rocky promontory which forms the extreme S. W. limit of the Bay—and a Jetty for the convenience and security of landing and embarkation of persons or merchandise. The inhabitants have petitioned Government repeatedly on the subject of these essential works, but still up to the present day the Bay remains unimproved and neglected. It is

We have followed in the above, the statistical data inserted in a paper written on the subject by Mr. J. C. Chase.

true that the attention of Government was at an early period diverted from this important point to the improvement of a part of the coast farther eastward; hence without due consideration a large sum was expended in erecting a Custom House at the mouth of the River Kowie, which turned out a perfect failure. It is very possible that this or some other River along the east Coast may admit vessels of small draught of water, and thus serve as an auxiliary to the trade of the frontier; but still Algoa Bay *must* continue—as it unquestionably is—the PORT OF THE EASTERN PROVINCE.

But not only did the trade of the frontier rapidly raise Port Elizabeth to the condition of a flourishing Maritime Town; but Graham's Town soon began to display the good effects of it also. It is, however, but fair to observe, that the prosperity of this town may be considered as coeval, with the arrival of the British Settlers, and not merely as attributable to the opening of the trade. At that period, viz. 1820, the spot on which the town stands exhibited but twenty-two houses scattered without the least regard to regularity over an area of several miles. It was, however, the Head Quarters of the Military on the frontier, as well as the Market Town and the Seat of Magistracy, and as these, on the return to the Colony of Lord C. H. Somerset had been permanently fixed there, many of the Settlers, on the failure of their agricultural pursuits, and particularly useful mechanics, flocked thither; the town began rapidly to encrease on every hand; the commerce of the interior being added to the expenditure of the Military, gave a fresh impulse to the march of improvement, and the result is, that at the present day Graham's Town has risen to the dignity

of the second Town in the Colony. From a wretched hamlet it has become a bustling town, containing 700 houses, several handsome public buildings, and a population of 3,000 souls.

In the other parts of the settlement the rapidity of improvement was equally remarkable. Amongst the English inhabitants no less than thirteen chapels for Divine Worship were erected by private contribution. To each of these was generally attached a school for the children of the neighbourhood, and by such means, and in other seminaries in the district, it has been computed that, of the entire population, there was at least one in seven under a course of moral and religious instruction. The amount subscribed, during the few last years, to religious establishments has not been much less than £1,000 per annum.

Nothing could be more pleasing to the traveller than the appearance of the district, and the comfort, which every where displayed itself. The neat white-washed cottage,—the substantial farm-house,—the secure enclosure,—the stacks of corn—and the beautifully green hills, profusely sprinkled over with cattle or sheep,—all indicated a state of substantial comfort, and of enviable prosperity. The voice of complaint was seldom heard, and the emigrants began to entertain that deep-rooted attachment to their adopted country, which is usually held as peculiar to a recollection of “the *Father-land*,” when removed to “a distant shore, and a different clime.”

Such were the effects wrought in this Settlement mainly by the frontier trade; but there were other and equally important results which must not be passed over without mention. We here allude to that spirit of enterprise and research which was ex-

hibited by many of the Settlers shortly after the restrictions had been removed by Government, on the progress of the colonists into the countries, beyond the colonial territory. Not only were they traversed in those parts adjacent to the colonial frontier, but some of the traders began to penetrate to a considerable distance into the interior, to explore distant regions, and to visit tribes of whose existence the colonists had scarcely, until then, heard. Amongst those who displayed this adventurous spirit was a respectable trader, named Thackwray, the father of the young elephant-hunter, whose death we have had occasion to record. This person, from his general correctness of deportment and the sound judgment which regulated his intercourse with the natives, had been enabled to travel through a large part of the Kafir and Tambookie territories, and to conduct his various trading speculations with profit to himself, and with satisfaction to the several tribes visited by him. On one occasion, when happening providentially to be led into the territory of the Chief Hintza, he was made the instrument of preserving a crew of French mariners, who, in the French trader, *L'Eole*, had been shipwrecked near the Bashee, or St. John's River, in the year 1829. Hearing of the disaster, this intrepid trader immediately flew to their succour, and by his influence with the natives procured them protection and kind and generous treatment; finally, he saw them safely through the Kafir country, and under the protection of the government authorities, at Graham's Town. Here they were received not merely with friendship but enthusiasm. Misfortune was, in the estimation of the inhabitants of Albany, a powerful claim upon them, and they vied with each other in an anxious desire to discharge it. Every door

was opened to them, and every effort made to render their stay agreeable, to relieve their immediate wants, and to provide for their comfort in their journey towards their native homes. These unfortunate mariners departed from Graham's Town, expressing eternal gratitude for the innumerable favors so lavishly conferred upon them,—and which, by the bye, was exhibited in the sequel, soon after their return to France, by the chief of the party publishing an account of the wreck, in which he requites the kindness shewn him by the British residents on the frontier, by indulging in the most unjust and illiberal remarks on their rusticity of deportment. The honest fervid, simple, manners of the Settlers did not, it would seem, square with the frivolity of the Parisian coxcomb who wrote this account, and gratitude was not in his list of virtues; hence, in spite of the compunctions of conscience, he could permit himself to indulge in remarks which only display a signal instance of lamentable turpitude of conduct without any conceivable motive to call forth its exhibition.

But to quit this digression, it is melancholy to relate, that a few months after succouring this destitute crew, the trader we have named was treacherously murdered by a wandering tribe of savages, called the Amaquabies. It will here be necessary to recur back a few months, in order that our readers, remote from the Colony, may understand the causes which led to this unfortunate catastrophe. Towards the middle of 1829, a Lieut. Farewell arrived at Graham's Town, on his way overland to Port Natal, where he had resided some years previously, and where he had carried on a traffic to some considerable extent with the natives. At Graham's Town this trader completed his arrangements for his journey, and here he became acquainted

and entered into an engagement with Thackwray, to proceed with him to his destination. In the month of July these two adventurers crossed the Colonial frontier, accompanied by a young man named Walker, and a number of Hottentots. They succeeded with safety in crossing the whole of the Kafir country, had forded the Umzimvoobo—a River which separates the Amaponda territory from a tract which had been depopulated by the exterminating wars of the Zoola tribes beyond—and had a fair prospect of soon reaching their destined station. When, however, a short distance beyond the Umzimvoobo, they were met by three of the wandering Amaquabies, who stated that they had been sent by their Chief, Quatoo, to say that he wished them to visit him, and that in token of friendship he had sent them a present of cattle for their subsistence while in that part of the country. Deceived by this specious shew of friendship, our traders, with a few of their attendants, were induced to visit this chief, at his kraal, a few miles distant from the spot selected for the bivouac of the party with the wagons. The wily savage received them with much appearance of friendship; but still there was something so equivocal in his conduct that certain of the party expressed great doubts of his sincerity. Notwithstanding this, in a fatal hour, the travellers resolved to confide in him; spent the evening in apparent cordiality, and retired to repose, from which they were aroused by the fiendish yell of the savages, and in the next moment they lay transfixed by the murderous missiles of the assassins. Three of the party, one of them severely wounded, escaped, favored by the darkness of night, to the encampment, with the story of the massacre, and the rest of the party had just time to fly, when the

murderous natives poured down upon them. The sight of the wagon, and the desire of booty, diverted them from pursuit, and hence the survivors of this ill-fated expedition were enabled to make good their retreat to the Missionary Station in the Amaponda Territory ; from whence, in process of time, they reached the Colony with the melancholy tidings.*

The principal in this unfortunate adventure, Lieut. Farewell, had, as already observed, resided for some years at Port Natal,—a harbour which is situated between 29° and 30° S. latitude, and is said to have been purchased of the natives by the Dutch East India Company, in 1589. Mr. Saxe Bannister, who has with great industry collected every particular relative to this transaction, states, that in the year mentioned it was resolved by the Council of the Cape of Good Hope, to send the galliot, the “Noord,” to Natal, for the crew of the “Stevanis,” which had been wrecked there, and to buy the bay and some adjacent land for the honorable Company, to the value of 29,000 guilders, of which the particulars were not to be mentioned in the deed, which was to be signed by the Chief, Ingese, and his relations. Mr. B. further states, that an official memoir, published at Amsterdam in 1718, describes Natal as one of the most fertile regions upon earth, and capable of producing an inexhaustible supply of grain and other provisions, and that

* It is a remarkable instance of Divine retribution for this unnecessary “shedding of blood,” that shortly after the perpetration of this massacre the chief Quatoo and his people, after committing the most horrible ravages, were attacked by the Amaponda chief Faku, and totally destroyed. It appears that Quatoo having resolved to attack Faku, the latter, who had become aware of his intent, decided upon a plan of operation which proved perfectly successful. The Quabies were allowed, without molestation, to seize the cattle of the Amapondas ; but whilst they were afterwards reposing in fancied security, Faku and his warriors had succeeded in gaining a position in their rear ; from whence, at an unguarded moment, they sprang upon their enemies, and their utter extermination was the result.

a despatch from Amsterdam, dated December, 1719, orders Factories to be founded on the Eastern Coast, chiefly at De La Goa Bay; and if the prospects proved good, a Factory was also to be founded at Natal, at the mouth of a river, where a tract of land had been bought for the Company on the 25th May, 1690, for about 20,000 guilders, in merchandise. At the time of the purchase, the Company was informed of the convenience and fertility of the country, and that it abounded in timber and various kinds of cattle, producing also ivory, wax, amber, and gold dust.

It appears pretty certain that, at the period here alluded to, Natal as well as other parts of the coast farther eastward, was frequented for the purposes of the Slave Trade, as is distinctly stated in a narrative published by Robert Drury, who states, April 1719, that he purchased slaves there with large brass rings.

We hear little or nothing of Port Natal till the year 1823, at which time it was visited by a trader, the *Salisbury*, from the Cape, which had been chartered by Messrs. Farewell and Thomson, for the purpose of visiting the South East Coast for commercial purposes. This vessel sailed as far as the River, St. Lucia, where they heard such an account of the Zoola tribes as induced them to touch at Port Natal on their return. On their arrival here, they found their favorable anticipations more than realised. Capt. King, who commanded the *Salisbury*, describes the Port as perfectly easy of access to vessels drawing not more than eight feet water. He further states that the bar has upon it eleven feet water at spring tides, and at times exceeds that depth; that the harbour is well sheltered from all winds, and sufficiently large to contain at least thirty sail. Outside of the bar the cape forms a spacious bay,

where ships may ride in safety with S. W., and westerly winds, and from nine to eleven fathoms sandy bottom. The best anchorage is, when the cape bears S. by W. half West, or S. S. West, at the distance of a mile and a half.* The adventurers having satisfied themselves as to the capabilities of the Port, and of its advantages for commercial purposes, proceeded on their return to the Cape, where, on their arrival, great interest was excited by their favorable report. A few months afterwards the unfortunate Farewell entered into a partnership with Messrs. Pietersen and Hoffman, for the purpose of forming a trading station on this interesting and important point.

Accordingly on the 1st May, 1824, Mr. F. announced to the Colonial Government at the Cape, that he had discovered a good harbour at Natal, and requested its permission to form a trading establishment there. This was obtained, together with authority to take with him such persons as might be necessary to undertake his commercial undertaking on the south east coast of Africa, with, however, this proviso—"That government would not sanction the acquisition of any territorial possession, without a full communication to the government of the circumstances under which it might be offered, and be intended to be received."†

After making every necessary arrangement, our commercial adventurers sailed for this land of promise, but it does not appear that they entertained any well-defined idea on the subject of their future proceedings, or the nature of the project in which

* Vide Capt. King's account.

† Vide letter from the Acting Secretary to Government, dated 5th May, 1824.

they had embarked. It is said that they expected to pick up a sufficient quantity of ivory on the beach, to load the vessel, and then with this precious cargo to return home. Be this as it may, several of the party soon after their arrival became greatly dissatisfied. Numerous little bickerings took place, and the great majority, among whom were the two partners Hoffman and Pietersen, abandoned the enterprise, and returned back, leaving Mr. Farewell and a young man, named Fynn, who were still sanguine of success, to follow up the project. In Sept. 1824, Mr. F. reported to Government, at the Cape that after his arrival at Natal, he had obtained permission to visit Chaka, the great Chief of the country, who was particularly pleased at hearing of his intention to remain at that Port, and that he had made him a sale and grant of part of his territory, in that neighbourhood. This grant is described as a tract of country nearly depopulated, not containing above 3 or 400 souls, who appeared much pleased at its disposal. Its extent was said to be 35 miles of coast, and 100 miles inland. "I took possession of the country," says Mr. F. in a subsequent communication to the Governor of the Colony, "hoisted the English colors, and fired a salute in presence of a number of Chaka's Chiefs."

In 1825, H. M. ship, *Andromache*, touched at Natal, and three of her officers visited this adventurous trader. They reported, on their return to the Cape, that since he had been at Natal, Chaka had established two kraals on a rising ground, commanding a view of the trading station, garrisoned by about 50 blacks, as Chaka says, for the purpose of protecting it. Mr. F. had by this report, while bartering for ivory, employed himself in constructing some

defensible works on the N. W. side of the harbour ; a wall, eleven feet high, had been completed, on which were mounted 4 four-pounders ; within this work he was erecting a dwelling house* of wood, sixty feet by twenty. It was also stated, that the party were enduring great privations, being not only destitute of almost every comfort, but even necessary of life.

During the time that Mr. Farewell was making these efforts to establish himself at Natal, Capt. King had made a voyage to England, but on his return to the Cape, in 1825, he resolved to proceed forthwith to rejoin Mr. Farewell in his hazardous undertaking. In prosecuting this intention every event appears to have been of an untoward cast ; hence, no sooner had he made his long desired Port, than his vessel, the "*Mary*," was wrecked at the entrance of the harbour, and he was exposed in consequence to great suffering and difficulties. At last, after combating every kind of privation, inseparable to the situation of a voluntary exile, beyond the pale of civilization, he sunk under the ravages of excessive grief and exertion, combined with the want of proper nourishment. He expired in the year 1828, in a wretched hut, the victim of commercial adventure in that part of the African continent. His grave is situated on the southern horn of the bay.

It would be beside our purpose to give any thing like a connected view of the efforts made to form an establishment on this part of the coast ; we, therefore, briefly observe with regard to Mr. Farewell, that on his last fatal expedition, he had entered into an engagement with Mr. Saxe Bannister, who was to advocate the cause at home, while he was to proceed overland

* Vide South African Chronicle of Sept. 2, 1825

to the spot. Mr. Bannister endeavours strenuously to alarm the fears of the Government on the subject of the evils to be apprehended from the non-accupancy of this territory; and on this point, if his legal doctrine be sound, we are not disposed to differ. He argues, "That should they, (viz. the projected Joint Stock Company,) be obliged to abandon the Settlement for want of support it would then be open to any foreign power. I submit," says he, "the law to be clear, as it is no part of the Cape of Good Hope or its dependencies. After obtaining a right to Southern Africa, by discovery, the Portuguese abandoned the whole, except from Mosambique downwards to Inhambane, which was their extreme post to the South down to 1720. The Dutch had before abandoned the Cape, and a few miles beyond it, and passing the intervening Coast, settled De La Goa Bay and Natal, in 1820; they also abandoned both these points in 1831, soon after which the Portuguese re-occupied De La Goa Bay, from Inhambane; the space from the eastern limits of the Cape Colony never being again occupied by Europeans until 1824. Mr. Farewell's acquisition from Chaka, then vested the Sovereignty in His Majesty, unconnectedly in title with the Cape, although communication was made to Lord C. H. Somerset, as the nearest authority to whom it would probably be subjected, and with whom communication was had for other purposes, as in regard to obtaining passes for men. There seems to be no doubt, that a foreign power, in possession of Natal, and in connection with Mosambique or Bourbon, might obtain great influence over the tribes, and prove a troublesome enemy in a future war."

The conclusion at which Mr. Bannister arrives

is perfectly just; for it is certainly a matter of the utmost moment to the well-being of this Colony, that Port Natal should be recognized as a dependency thereof; allow a Settlement on this part of the Coast, by a foreign power, and the consequences must be most disastrous to this portion of the British Dominions. On this subject the following remarks are extracted from the *Graham's Town Journal*, of 3d August, 1832. "The question of the occupation of Port Natal may elsewhere be matter of unprofitable speculation; but it must ever be deeply interesting to the inhabitants of the frontier of this colony, whose quiet is even now subject to daily interruptions from the frequent alarms so often communicated to the border tribes by every movement of the Zoolas, and whose property would depend upon the frailest of tenures should Port Natal, the only vulnerable point on the coast, be occupied by any rival power. Should we unfortunately be anticipated in the occupation of this port, the consequences would be equally injurious and inevitable. Our present lucrative and daily-extending trade would be annihilated at a word; a wide field of profitable emigration, and a most promising vent for English manufactures, would be closed and pre-occupied; all future prospects, dependent upon the spread of civilization in the interior, would be at an end; and the possession of Port Natal would, with a few hundred fire arms, have the power of propelling the whole population of Kafirland upon our frontier, and at some future day—by superadding the advantages of discipline to the overwhelming numbers of the native tribes—the English interests of the Cape of Good Hope might be circumscribed by the lines of Cape Town."

The article we have referred to then proceeds in the discussion of Mr. Bannister's scheme in the following terms:—"The only proposal to settle Natal which has been submitted to government, as far as we know, was that of Mr. B., and, whatever may have been the general merits of his scheme, it was at least novel, experimental, and not very easy to be comprehended; it embraced no proposal of emigration, and it demanded a full recognition of his and Mr. Farewell's *special interests* in all the country around Port Natal. Mr. B. wished to relieve the Cape government of legislating for his new settlement; and although he shews that the territory was purchased by the former government of the Cape, and consequently was one of the dependencies subsequently ceded to England by treaty; although he shews that Mr. Farewell took possession of Natal under the authority of the government of the Cape, from whom he requested a monopoly of the trade, and even some magisterial appointment at Natal; yet Mr. B. considers the acquisition of Mr. F. to have vested the sovereignty in His Majesty "unconnectedly in title with the Cape," an opinion which can only be accounted for when it is remembered that it was expressed by him in the capacity of an advocate of "special interests."

To Mr. Bannister's proposal the governor of the colony, Sir G. L. Cole, stated that he could not see the advantages of *his* proposal; but that he should express no opinion against it unless called upon. The answer of the Secretary of State was much to the same tenor: it stated that His Majesty's government could not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting *his* sugges-

tions, as would counterbalance the expense and other inconveniences which must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal.

These replies may be accounted for naturally enough, when it is remembered that "the public advantages held out by Mr. B.'s proposal were rather speculative and remote than immediate and practical. It is, indeed, difficult to perceive how the colonial and the home governments could do otherwise than they have done: but it by no means follows that government will shew an equal disregard of any more practical scheme of occupying Natal, provided the interests of the public appear to require it, and that it is not again proposed to permit these to be superseded by the special interests of individuals. The occupation of Natal appears equally demanded for the purposes of trade, of colonization, and of prevention; any one of which is important enough to justify the measure in a national point of view; and we must infer a most improbable degree of supineness and indifference to the public good in the councils of the King, before we can imagine that all these considerations united are not strong enough to induce His Majesty's government to take formal possession of Natal before it be too late."*

To this powerful argument we shall only add, that perhaps it is not easy to form an idea of any country which holds out a fairer prospect of success for the formation of a new settlement than Port Natal. The country around the harbour, and for two hundred miles westward towards the colony, to a considerable depth inland, is uninhabited, except by a few scattered individuals, the wrecks of the tribes extermi-

* Vide Graham's Town Journal, *ut supra*.

nated by the desolating wars of the Zoola chief. The climate is of the most salubrious character ; whilst the fertility of the soil is spoken of in terms of unqualified commendation. On this point a communication from a trader residing there states,—“I have now been here a sufficient time to form an opinion of every season of the year, and can assure you that it is raised a hundred-fold higher than at first. The wheat I sowed is now ripe, heavy in the ear, and free from rust, although sown so late as the 18th Oct. (1831). I have about five acres of Indian corn as thick as oats, not less than 20 muids (60 bushels) per acre. My people, for I have two villages already, have at least 500 muids. The Indian corn ripened in ten weeks, and the same land is cropping again. All kinds of vegetables have done remarkably well ; pumpkins grow wild upon the old kraals, and are much more prolific than in the colony, even with the most careful cultivation. The growth of the grass is so rapid that what was burned in September and October is now *eight feet high*. I have been twice inland, by two different routes, nearly north. All the country in these directions is superior to the coast for cultivation. At the distance of 80 miles you reach the first range of mountains, which are clothed with forests of pure timber, from 60 to 80 feet high ; no underwood from the base of the hill to the summit, and a very good road for wagons.”

The depopulated country towards the colony is described by all who have travelled it in the same terms of admiration. The ill-fated, but amiable and enterprizing travellers, Messrs. Cowie and Green,*

* The travellers here referred to had both resided at Graham's Town for some years previous to undertaking this journey. Mr. Cowie had discharged

who passed through it on their route to De la Goa Bay, in the early part of 1829, left memoranda which represent it "as beautiful beyond description, especially near the sea. The meadows are said to be carpeted with the most luxuriant herbage, and watered every few hundred yards by copious rivulets, whose banks are level with the priaries through which they meander; the rivers swarming with fish and hippopotami; the plains and hills in some parts covered with woods of gigantic forest trees, whose recesses are alive with elephants; and the vegetation, where observed, consisting of the sweet cane, millet, and maize, rich beyond all that the travellers had noticed in the most favored parts of the colony. A very few miles to the eastward of the Umzimvoobo, a spot is described as the scene of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*;* and a remarkable hill, which the travellers named

with great ability the duties of District Surgeon; whilst Mr. Green was engaged in pursuits principally mercantile. Having a strong taste for the study of natural history, and an ardent desire for adventure, they resolved to abandon their several avocations for the purpose of exploring a section of the African continent, which presented a blank on the maps hitherto published. With this intention they departed from Graham's Town in the month of July, 1828, intending to proceed direct to Port Natal, and from thence to turn northwards, towards the mountain range, which gives rise to the Orange, and other large rivers which intersect this part of South Africa. In a fatal hour they were induced to deviate from this course, for the purpose of visiting De la Goa; and they there—or at least a short distance from it—fell martyrs to the pestilential atmosphere of that country. At the time of their lamented death, Mr. Cowie was 32, and Mr. Green 23 years of age.

* The *Grosvenor* was wrecked on the 4th Aug., 1782. Most of the numerous crew and passengers got safe on shore, but only a part of these reached the colony. Eight years after, Mr. Jacob Van Reenen, and a small party undertook a journey in quest of the remainder. At the spot mentioned, finding that the wagons could not pass without great danger, the travellers proceeded to the spot of the fatal disaster, which was sufficiently marked by five cannons, and a great quantity of iron ballast. At an adjoining kraal they found three women, of European origin, who, it is stated, had been shipwrecked on that coast when children, and had intermarried with the natives. A son of one of these, named Daapa is now living, and is the acknowledged chief of a tribe of Kafirs designated as the Amabuæ.

‘Mount George, in Windsor Forest,’ is mentioned as the great height which stopped the progress of Van Reenen’s wagons when in search of the crew of that vessel in 1790.” Amidst all these natural beauties, the travellers proceeded for thirty-five days along the coast without falling in with any natives. Dr. A. Smith, who crossed this tract in 1832, speaks of it in similar terms of admiration, and observes that it is intersected by no less than one hundred and twenty rivers.

The best account we have of the country *eastward* of Natal to De la Goa Bay, is that furnished by those ill-fated travellers. From notes taken by them on the journey, it appears that the country is marshy, and deeply intersected by streams which flow southward to the ocean. The principal of those mentioned are the St. Lucia, of which the Limtlanga is a main branch. It has three others connected with it, viz.—the Volosie Imtlopie, or white Volosie, the Volosie Junansie, or black Volosie, and the Volosie. These streams unite about 35 miles from the sea, and form the river, designated on the maps as the St. Lucia. The Morrie and Sordwana Rivers flow near the Black Tiger mountains. The next is the Omkoosie, which is described as having a rapid current about 300 yards broad. Further eastward is the Pongolo River, and beyond this the Ongovoomo. These two streams unite near a lake, called Omvoo-bo, or “Sea-cow Pond,” and receive in their course many other tributary streams, after which they form a junction with the Mapoota, not far from a beautiful lake, named by these travellers “Killarney,” and which is pourtrayed in the following glowing colors :—“It is about four miles long, by 300 to 400

feet wide ; its waters are fresh and translucent as glass ; the haunt of the alligator, hippopotamus, and an innumerable diversity of fish ; it is garlanded around by splendid shrubs, approached by a lawn of the most verdant grass ; the elegant spring-buck, and a large number of the same genus sport around, and drink of its placid waters ; but with all this loveliness, danger and death lurk in this tempting and apparent paradise. The insidious crocodile, the dangerous boa, the treacherous tiger, and a pestilential atmosphere, mar and ruin one of the most splendid scenes of earthly beauty.* About eighty miles still farther to the east, the country is intersected by English River, a considerable stream, which falls into De la Goa Bay.

The greater part of the country lying between Natal and the Bay, is described as extremely damp, abounding with rivers, lakes, and swamps,—giving birth to poisonous *malaria*, particularly from March to June, before which an European constitution soon sinks. It is said that, just before the arrival of the travellers, the number of Europeans at the settlement at the Bay had been reduced from forty to six persons, and that two ships in the harbour had buried or thrown overboard no less than one hundred and fifty bodies, in the course of a few days.

Although foreign to our design in writing this introduction, yet, as these two ill-fated travellers were inhabitants of the British Settlement of Albany, it may not be altogether out of place to record the particulars of their untimely fate.

“On the 4th of April,” observes their mutual

* The above, and a passage distinguished by inverted commas at page 176, are extracted from “notes” published by Mr. Chase.

friend, Mr. J. C. Chase,—whose last act of friendship is this record of their fate,—“ Dr. Cowie was taken ill. He complained of his head, bled himself, and afterwards made his will; in the afternoon he again tried phlebotomy, and declared himself so much relieved as to intend travelling in the morning—that night he expired, and he was as decently interred as circumstances would permit. The ensuing day the Hottentot Platje died; the interpreter wished Mr. Green to leave him in his extremity, as his life could not be saved, but Green declared that as long as the poor creature had breath he would not desert him, but as soon as his fate was decided, he would walk to the Colony. Immediately after the death of Mr. Cowie, Green appeared overwhelmed and stultified with grief; and the interpreter says that after firing at birds, which he did for the purpose of gaining nourishing food for the dying Hottentot, he would keep the gun at his shoulder, lost in thought, and gazing upon vacancy, until roused. Three days after Platje's decease he also died—more, it is apprehended, from excessive nervous excitement, than from the ravages of fever; he refused the medicines offered by the natives, and spent his last hours in a hut. The interpreter states he saw him buried: previous to death he gave up his papers, with orders for their delivery in the Colony. Jacob, the interpreter, says that he himself was also affected by fever, but ascribes his recovery from inhaling the smell of the exploded priming from Mr. Green's gun.”

The Portuguese settlement at De la Goa Bay is a most wretched affair. Its force amounts to about forty or fifty black soldiers, natives of Mosambique, besides a few officers; and the Governor himself is spoken of as ekeing out a wretched and precarious

existence, with so few resources at his command, that he is compelled to purchase the friendship of the neighbouring chiefs by continual presents; and it is not long since, that the late Governor, Dennys, in consequence of failing to remit such amount or description of tribute to the Zoola King, Dingaan, as he expected, was suddenly attacked by an overwhelming force, and slain.*

It has been said that this Port is to Great Britain a most important point; inasmuch as it opens all the interior of Africa to her commerce, where millions of people are ready to receive clothing and civilization at her hands, and that its situation would moreover command a free intercourse and commerce with every point on the coasts of Madagascar at all seasons of the year. It is added that should this Bay fall into the possession either of the Americans, the French, or the Russians, it would be most ruinous, not only to the Cape Colony, but to our

* Mr. Fynn writes from Port Natal, on the 17th June, 1834:—"During my visit to Dingaan, I had some conversation with two Portuguese soldiers from De la Goa Bay. I was much surprised to hear from them that their Governor Dennys, was put to death in May last by a commando from the Zoola chief, and another Governor appointed. After hearing the whole affair, I determined on questioning Dingaan, having doubts as to the possibility of his putting to death a Governor who had a fort and soldiers under his command, and that it was improbable another Governor, so directly after the occurrence, should be on such amicable terms with Dingaan as to send him presents of brass and beads; for which purpose the soldiers had come. On my questioning Dingaan, he shewed evident symptoms of surprise, and asked who were my informants; and when I acquainted him, appeared much to regret I had gained the intelligence. After a few moments consideration he told me, almost in the same words as the two soldiers, that he had sent to the Governor to demand a quantity of brass, which was refused him, under an appearance of his having none; but that he, knowing he had brass, sent forces to put him to death. The Governor, however, hearing of the approach of the force, proposed giving 100 large brass bangles (armlets) to pacify his anger. This was accepted by the commander of the expedition; but on their arrival at Dingaan's, he ordered them immediately to return and fulfil his former orders. They did so, and succeeded in putting him to death." (Vide "Graham's Town Journal," of the 7th August, 1834.) We have since the above date seen a letter from a trader at De la Goa Bay, named "Noble," which confirms the above in the main particulars.—ED.

East India possessions and commerce, both in peace and war;—in peace, by becoming a mart for all East India productions, and in war, as being one of the finest ports in the world, whence inimical enterprises might issue at pleasure.”*

If this be a fair estimate of the case, it shews at once the importance of occupying Natal,—a point which possesses most of the advantages enumerated without any of its disadvantages. The harbour, it is true, is small; but this is more than counter-balanced by its safety, the healthiness of the climate, and by its proximity to the colonial frontier. Maintain an establishment at Natal, and a door of intercourse is opened into the interior of the continent, and the Amaponda, Mambookie, Amakosa, and Abatembu tribes, occupying the intermediate country to the colony, are placed at once within the reach of British power, and would be effectually awed from attempting those ruinous inroads within our territories, from the consequences of which the colonists are now smarting.

From De la Goa Bay, which lies in lat. 26° , long. $32^{\circ} 55'$, to the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Senna, the coast is resorted to by adventurers engaged in collecting gold dust, ivory, and slaves. “At this port all the inhabitants live by the interior commerce, and the fruits collected on their lands by the natives. The mercantile transactions are carried on entirely by slaves belonging to the inhabitants, who have acquired a knowledge of the country, and are called Massambizees. These go forth every year, attended by other slaves, as carriers of goods proper for the trade, and in due time return with gold, ivory, and slaves.

* “South African Journal” for 1830.

“The commercial affairs of this part of Africa extend over an immense territory, whose length, from north to south, is about three hundred and fifty leagues, from Cuzembe to Manica; and two hundred leagues from east to west, from Quillimane to Zumbo. But as the merchants send their goods far beyond these places, we may safely add fifty leagues to the above dimensions, which will make the mercantile transactions of the Rio de Senna extend over a space of 87,000 square leagues.

“Throughout the captaincy, interior navigation might be established on a larger scale, than in any other part of Africa; the chief part of America, indeed, falls short of it in this respect. The Zambeza might be rendered navigable throughout the year, as far as nine hundred miles above Quillimane into the interior of Zambo, if two obstacles were removed; the first of which is, some rocks impeding the navigation at a place called Cabrabaca, between Chicova and Tette, where boats can never pass. The second might be easily removed, as it only impedes the navigation six months in the year. The Zambeza divides into two branches about thirty leagues above Quillimane, the left branch of which passes the town, and is only navigable in the winter season, on account of the sands which collect at the point of separation. The waters of the River in the other season pass down the right arm, and discharge themselves into the sea at the bar of Ohrida. By opening a canal half a league in length the left branch might be pursued at all seasons of the year with great facility. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the navigation is made (although laboriously) by means of a canal, which communicates with another branch of the river, and affords a passage to numer-

ous small craft, assisted by the tide waters, which communicate from without, through the medium of the before-mentioned canal, called Rio Maindo. Inferior rivers fall into the Zambeza, and water the land of the interior; thus affording great facilities to the inland commerce. Such is the Ravuga, which rises to the northward of the Zambeza, in the Marave's country, and falls into it half a league below Tette; the Aroanha, which passing through Monopotapa, joins the Zambeza on its right bank between Tette and the pass of Laputa; and the Cline, a large stream, whose source we are yet ignorant of, which, after passing through the territory of the Marave Kafirs, forms a junction with the Zambeza, near Senna.*

Having given this general view of the opening which presents itself for the extension of a lucrative commerce to a great distance along the eastern shores of this continent,—having shewn that Port Natal is the only spot at which a trading establishment can be formed with any probability of ultimate success, arising from the unhealthiness of the country farther to the eastward, and also assigned some reasons for fearing that, were it to be occupied by any other power, it would be exceedingly injurious—if not ruinous—to the colony; we now close this part of our subject by observing that since the unfortunate death of Messrs. Farewell and Thackwray, Port Natal has been visited by several British traders from the colony, amongst whom may be mentioned the Messrs. Cawoods and Collis. The former, who are four brothers, industrious enterprising young men, proceeded thither in 1832, and in the course of a

* "South African Quarterly Journal," 1830.

few months collected produce, chiefly ivory, to the amount of £ 2,000 sterling, with which they returned in safety to the colony. The latter, who preceded them by several months, had at the period of their arrival made considerable progress towards fixing himself firmly on the spot, and since which period he has visited the colony, giving the most flattering accounts of the fertility of the country, the friendly disposition of the natives, and the capabilities of the place for colonization,—or at least for a mercantile factory or establishment. In March 1834 he again departed from Graham's Town on his return, with ten or twelve wagons, heavily laden with necessaries and merchandise, since which period he has been actively, and as far as we can learn successfully, employed in his commercial speculations. Associated with him in his undertaking are two active commercial men at Graham's Town, who have purchased a small cutter, the "*Circe*," expressly for the purpose of running between that port and Algoa Bay, and thus of saving a tedious, expensive, and laborious over-land journey.* Very recently this port has received an acquisition in Capt, Gardiner, R. N., a gentleman of great respectability and high character and attainments, who has devoted himself and his property to the object of attempting the establishment of a mission among the Zoolas, with the exalted object of converting that people to the christian faith. It appears, however, that Dingaan, jealous of his real intention, has refused his sanction to his attempt, stating that he had no objection to receive traders, but that

* We regret to say that at the date of writing this (August 1835) great apprehensions are entertained of the loss of this little coaster. No information respecting her has been had for a period of several months, and from the disturbed state of Kafirland all communication overland to Natal has been rendered impracticable.

he would not permit any teachers of religion to reside among them.

Such is the present state of this Port, to which point we entertain some hope that the late irruption of the Kafirs into the colony will induce the government to direct their attention. Its importance has been manifestly seen in the fact that when the British forces were about to penetrate the Kafir territory, a messenger (Mr. Fynn) was despatched in the *Circe* to Natal, with a communication from the Governor to Faku, the powerful Amaponda chief, which not only had the effect of preserving his alliance to the colony at a most critical juncture, but also of engaging him to hold himself in readiness to attack Hintza, should it be requisite, on his eastern boundary, while the British troops were assaulting him in an opposite direction.

We are aware that the British government have stated in their reply to the merchants of Cape Town, praying that an establishment might be founded at Natal, that—"With every disposition duly to appreciate the benefits likely to result from an extension of the commerce and the general relations of the colony, the government do not feel that they could recommend to His Majesty to grant his sanction to the prayer of the petition; as in the present state of the finances of the Cape any additional *expense* for the establishment of a new settlement would be highly inconvenient, and could not with propriety be incurred."*

But still if it can be shewn—and this is not difficult—that the government are bound to occupy it on the score of *economy* itself, we may continue to

* Vide letter from the Hon. Col. Bell, Secretary to Government, dated 12th March, 1835.

indulge the hope that this important subject will not be overlooked. On this point we cannot do better than quote a remark in a letter now before us from one of the most intelligent and experienced mercantile men in this colony:—"There is," says he, "a necessity for occupying Port Natal, for obvious reasons, such as to prevent any power, friendly or jealous, doing the same, and forming there the *nucleus* of a NEW POWER in South-eastern Africa, which would lead to rivalry between us in our relations of friendship and commerce with the tribes of Kaffraria; always keeping the colony on the alert, watching the conduct of such near rivals, and intercepting the important commerce which is now springing up. The British government, at the peace of 1814, retained the Mauritius, that in future wars it might not be the rendezvous of privateers, and the place for other means of annoyance to us. The Swan River Settlement was formed for nearly similar reasons. Now Port Natal, any seaman will perceive, possesses far greater capabilities for an offensive position to our enemies, from its geographical situation and the fertility of the country, to afford supplies."

But there is still one consideration of vital moment which has not been discussed in reference to this part of the African continent, and that is—the vast importance of counteracting those evils which necessarily spring from a desultory trade; where the parties engaged, losing the restraints imposed by the usages of civilized communities, are left to the impulse of their own passions and peculiar views. This has often been seen and deplored at Port Natal. Innumerable have been the evils resulting from not living under any form of government; the British name

has been tarnished, and the British character degraded in the estimation of the natives of the country; and in this way a most serious impediment is opposed to their moral improvement; and even to their forming an attachment to, or entertaining an opinion of respect for the British nation.

But we now close this part of our subject by remarking that whilst some of our traders were thus employed in traversing the country of the Amakosa, Abatembu, and Amaponda tribes of Kafirs, and in visiting the shores of this continent to the eastward, others were not less diligent and enterprising in exploring the interior to the northward. In this direction the relative situation, habits, and customs of the several nations or tribes, were, at the arrival of the British emigrants, much better understood than in the interior to the east. Numerous travellers, whose accounts are before the public, had penetrated to a considerable distance, and several missionary institutions had been founded in that direction, and remain until this day. From all the information obtained from these sources we learn, that from the banks of the Orange or Great River, which forms the colonial boundary in this direction, the country is occupied by a people of very diversified manners and dispositions. Along the borders of the colony reside a race of Mulattos, the offspring of slaves, colonists, and Hottentots, whose blood is mingled, and who now form a distinct and separate class, bearing the name of Bastards, and more recently Griquas. Interspersed amongst these are the Corannas, a wandering and extremely dissolute people, and the remnants of the Bushmen, whose numbers are fast diminishing by want, and by their ferocious and insidious habits which have, in self-defence, raised every

man's hand against them. These people, from various causes, are fast degenerating, and perhaps in a few more years will be extinct. They are a peculiarly wretched and degraded race; they possess no property, they follow no useful employment; but depend for a scanty and precarious subsistence on the chase, or to the success of their forays on the flocks and herds of the colonial farmers.

Farther to the northward is the Bechuana country, the actual limits of which we have yet to learn. Not that these people are united under one system of government, or own allegiance to one supreme authority; on the contrary, they are distinguished by little but their uniformity of language, and, in some considerable degree, by their barbarous customs. Several of the British settlers have explored the extensive tract of country inhabited by these people; have visited the different tribes, even as far as the tropic, have enquired into their history, habits, and the polity or form of government under which they live, and have furnished us with much interesting information respecting the peculiarities of the country, and the opening which presents itself in that direction for the extension of commercial adventure.

From the result of these enquiries it would appear that the further you proceed to the north and east, the more populous is the country, and the more ingenious and wealthy are the inhabitants. The soil abounds in rich metallick productions. Copper and iron are procured in considerable quantities: smelted and manufactured with great skill by the native artisans into weapons of war and into various articles, either useful or ornamental. Fossils are abundant. Beautiful specimens of Asbestos and of Loadstone, together with a great variety of spars and pebbles, have been

collected by our various traders, and shew that in this respect the native productions of the soil are here far superior to those which are found in that section of the African continent comprised within the limits of the colony. It has been asserted that one party of traders, who, in 1829, traversed the country in this direction, as far nearly as De la Goa Bay, collected, in the space of 10 months, produce, chiefly consisting of ivory, to the amount of Rds. 20,000, in exchange for beads, and other trifling articles of a like description. Several of our traders have also at various times joined the Griquas in their hunting excursions, and in this pursuit have penetrated as far as the kloofs and jungles, which line the streams that fall from the mountains to the north of De la Goa Bay, and empty themselves into that extensive harbour.

The Griquas or Bastards are expert and adventurous hunters, and being trained to the use of fire-arms, and to the management of a horse from early infancy, they have an immense advantage over the neighbouring tribes. From this and other considerations it appears certain that unless our policy towards them be distinguished by consummate prudence and vigor, they will prove, in the course of a very few years, a far more formidable obstacle to the prosperity of the colonists on the northern frontier than ever the Kafir tribes have been on the eastern. At present they are altogether dependent on the colony for their supply of gunpowder; and we regret to say that they have been enabled to commit their numerous excesses and plunders on the natives behind them by the facility with which they have been furnished with arms and ammunition by unprincipled colonists. Gunpowder and brandy have been the articles most in demand on the banks of the Orange River; and to procure

these the country has been swept by bands of ferocious robbers, formed conjointly of Bastards and Corannas, whose track has been marked by murder and rapine.* Wagon loads of the contraband articles have, it is said, been conveyed across the colonial boundary by traders and farmers, both Dutch and English, and this in spite of every effort on the part of the Government to prevent it.

It would be criminal to gloss over these nefarious transactions, as the whole of the northern part of the colony is thereby placed in imminent jeopardy; and if a remedy be not applied effectually to counteract this evil, it requires no gift of prophecy to conclude that the most disastrous consequences must ensue to the whole colony. It is particularly important that this part of the frontier should be guarded against these illicit practices, inasmuch as it is perfectly unprotected by any military force against the incursions of an enemy, and as it has of late years been but too frequently made the theatre of savage butcheries, both by Bushmen, and the more daring and formidable Bastard and Coranna freebooters. There are unquestionably a few persons within the colony who have been accessory to the illicit traffic in gunpowder, without being at all aware of the enormous amount of evil which has resulted from it. But we have no doubt, from the lesson recently learned during the progress of the Kafir war, and the fatal consequences which have resulted from that people having obtained a considerable supply of fire-arms, that every man laying claim to the least degree of

* A correspondent of the editor writes to him from Graaff-Reinet, on the 6th September, 1832,—“A gang of about 200 Bastards and Corannas, armed with seventy guns, have attacked three families about 40 miles on this side the Orange River, and have killed several persons. They carried off five wagons, seventy horses, and about two thousand horned cattle.

common honesty and humanity will not only be scrupulously careful that they themselves do not in this way become a party to the horrible atrocities of the banditti and semi-barbarians on our borders; but that they will consider it a duty devolving upon them, as members of civil society, to check and expose such practices whenever an opportunity of doing so may present itself.

During the brief administration of Lieut.-Colonel Wade as Acting Governor, in 1833, an ordinance was passed with a view to check the trade in gunpowder, and which was not only well intended, but unquestionably had to a considerable extent the desired effect. Still the promulgation of this act occasioned a great outcry, and the high-sounding note of "Free Trade" was shouted most vociferously by those who were at such a safe distance from the frontier as permitted them to indulge in their fanciful speculations without hazarding the security either of their persons or property. It is true that the measure referred to was capable of great improvement, and, indeed, required considerable modification; inasmuch as the colonists themselves were made to share in the difficulties which were interposed to the ready obtainment of gunpowder, and were thereby left in a comparatively defenceless state. On the whole, however, we may venture to affirm—and although it is notorious that the law was evaded in several instances—that the passing of this act has been the means of preserving numbers of lives that would otherwise have been destroyed by the savage freebooters who hover on the colonial boundaries, and who are a desolating scourge occasionally to our farmers, but more generally to the comparatively defenceless natives.

But to return to the progress of the colonial trade, we may observe, that from recent intelligence many

interesting facts have been learned relating to the interior, and especially through the medium of Traders who returned to the colony in 1833, from extensive journeys to the north and east of the colonial boundary. The first party it will be necessary to refer to is one conducted by a Mr. Whittle. In March 1833 he returned to Graham's Town after a twelve-months' absence, and stated that he had taken the route from the colony to Lattakoo (the capital of the Bechuana tribes,) from thence, in company with another trader, he proceeded nearly north till he arrived at a sandy desert which he crossed. A journey of three weeks brought him to a level grassy country, well watered but nearly depopulated by the plundering parties of Massellikatse.* Mr. W. subsequently visited that chief, and after a few days stay proceeded to the north-east, in which direction he travelled for two months along the banks of the river Lampopoo, through a country well wooded and watered, scantily peopled by small and starving remnants of the different Bechuana tribes, who had been plundered and destroyed by Massellikatse's troops. Elephants, rhinoceros', hippopotami, and camel-leopards roam undisturbed through the extensive tracts laid waste by these sanguinary savages. Several towns with stone houses, to all appearance lately peopled by thousands, presented no vestige of inhabitants, except their thickly

* This chief possesses the same degree of power and influence in this quarter of the African continent as Dingaan, the Zoola chief, does further to the eastward. The capital where he resides has been often visited both by missionaries and traders, but still the information respecting his character, and the manners and customs of the people, is but scanty. He appears to entertain a jealous dread of European power, which has been unquestionably created by the wanton inroads of the Bastards into his territories; and the extensive mischief they have been enabled to perpetrate by the superiority which fire arms gives them. Massellikatse is, however, the Tamerlane of this part of South Africa. His name is pronounced with respect by all the neighbouring tribes, and his power acknowledged and dreaded.

scattered bones. Many new species of antelope are described by this trader, and he brought with him a tusk five and-a-half feet in length, curved like that of the mammoth, and which was stated to have been found under ground, but as it was not in a fossil state, nor shewed any decided marks of age, it probably belongs to a distinct species of elephant which is said to exist near Natal. From some vague accounts received from the natives, of two wagons which many years ago proceeded down the banks of the river, and were last heard of at a town situated at its junction with another river, it is probable that this was the course taken by Dr. Cowan in 1810.*

Another trader, named David Hume, who returned a few weeks after Mr. Whittle, and who had been two years traversing nearly the same line of country, but who had penetrated much further, gave a relation of similar import. He had, like the former, crossed the Orange River in the direction of

* This ill-fated traveller, in conjunction with Lt. Donovan, were sent out under the patronage of Lord Caledon, for the purpose of crossing the continent as far as Mosambique, or Sofola. They were accompanied by twenty of the Cape Corps. The fate of the expedition has never been completely ascertained; but it appears but too certain that the whole party perished in the enterprise. When Lord Caledon sent a vessel to Sofola to gain, if possible, some information respecting them it was affirmed that two of the party had escaped from the hands of the savages, who had slain the rest. This story was confirmed in 1824 by the amiable but unfortunate Missionary, Threlfal (with whom the writer had the privilege of a personal acquaintance). He writes that he heard, when at Delagoa Bay, that two white men and a colored woman arrived in the states of Delagoa, mounted on horses. The men were well looking, and dressed in colonial leathern suits, and spoke the English language. The woman, by the description, would appear to be a Hottentot. They came from the S. W. At the Fort they were received with marks of kindness. After a residence there of some months one of the strangers was taken suddenly ill, after eating something sent to him for dinner by the Governor,—he died the following day. A few days afterwards his companion died in the same mysterious manner. The female was afterwards taken to the Governor's residence; but was subsequently rescued and carried off by a whaler. Mr. Threlfal states that there were hundreds of natives who saw them, and whose testimony agreed in the above particulars; and he adds, that he was convinced that the strangers must have been of Dr. Cowan's and Lt. Donovan's party.—Vide South African Chronicle of 22d Dec. 1824.

Lattakoo ; from thence, after crossing the Lampopo, which River, as he ascertained, falls after a considerable course, into De la Goa Bay, he took a westerly course, and travelled nine days up the Niconza branch of that stream ; eight days' journey to the north brought him to the Bo Koos, a Bechuana tribe, two days to the north of whom he found the Ba Mangatos, a tribe of the same people living in a hilly country, possessed of much cattle and sheep, and cultivating a great deal of corn. At this point a plummet suspended on the 25th December, at noon, cast the shade almost imperceptibly to the north, indicating that he was then nearly under the tropic. Having here completed his lading of ivory, he returned in a new direction nearly south for sixteen days, to the Wolf River ; five days more to the south brought him to the country of the chief Sobiquac, and in twelve days more they returned to Lattakoo. The face of the country thus traversed is described as generally level, well covered with wood and grass, but ill watered. Game of all kinds were numerous. Cameleopards were seen in herds of hundreds, and as he and his party depended entirely on their guns for subsistence during the journey, this animal formed their chief food, but the flesh of the elephant and rhinoceros was also eaten with indifference. Several articles of cotton manufacture, procured from the Portugese at Mosambique or De la Goa, were found among the Mongotos, who stated that a considerable trade in ivory had formerly been conducted with the coast by a tribe called Malaquins who carried the ivory to the sea.*

* Vide "Graham's Town Journal" of 23d May, 1832.

So much importance was attached to the information communicated by this trader, and such great interest did it excite, that at a meeting of the South African Literary and Scientific Institution, held on the 5th June, 1833, it was resolved to attempt to send a scientific expedition to explore that country, with the object of elucidating its geography, &c. a proposal that resulted in the organization of an expedition which, under the guidance of Dr. A. Smith, is at this moment exploring that interesting but to Europeans unknown region, and from the judgment with which the expedition has been planned, and the skill and perseverance of the conductor, we may confidently expect the most satisfactory results,—whether we regard it in reference to our inland trade, or to an extension of our geographical knowledge. It would, however, be futile to occupy time by dwelling on those desultory scraps of information which have reached us from time to time on the subject of this section of the African continent, through the medium of both traders and missionaries; there being every reason to hope that all those doubts hitherto existing in reference to this portion of the African continent will ere long be fully and satisfactorily cleared up, and that a very considerable addition will be made to the page of natural history.

We now quit the trade beyond the boundaries of the colony to review its own internal resources, and the capabilities of its soil and climate to raise articles of valuable export. Here the first subject which demands attention is the growth of fine WOOL, and the introduction of Saxon and Merino Sheep in lieu of the coarse and comparatively worthless native Cape sheep. A few of the Settlers of 1820, amongst whom may be named Major Pigot and Capt. Campbell, in-

troduced fine-woolled sheep into the colony on their first arrival, and their example was followed by several others within the next ensuing few years. It was not, however, till after the lapse of several years that the pursuit attracted much notice, or appeared to be attended with decided success.* By the exertions and perseverance of Lieuts. Daniel and Griffith, the late lamented Lieut. T. C. White, Lieut.-Col. Somerset, Commandant of Kaffraria, Major Dundas, whilst Landdrost and Civil Commissioner, and a few others, the public attention became at length awakened to the great importance of the subject, and the most rapid progress was soon made in this branch of rural economy. Many parts of the colony were found eminently suited to the breeding of sheep, and it was also discovered that the progeny of imported sheep were improved in fineness of fleece, and that hence the greatest benefit might be expected to result to the whole colony by substituting exportable wool for the valueless hair of the native colonial sheep. So much importance did many of the inhabitants attach to this subject, that independent of the outlays made by individuals, a joint-stock sheep association was formed at Graham's Town, and in 1833 ten thousand rix-dollars were subscribed and remitted to Europe by this society for the purchase of pure saxon sheep. The animals were selected with much care

* The Dutch government, in 1804, in an ordinance for the administration of the country districts, enjoin upon the Landdrosts "to encourage by every means the exchange of the native Cape sheep for those that give wool:" and it goes on to remark, that—"The ancient records of the colony shew that for more than a century before several promising experiments to that effect had been made; and that the want of proper direction alone was the cause that the colony remained to that day deprived of that inexhaustible source of prosperity." It adds, that—"any further neglect in this particular must, therefore, be followed by injurious consequences." Lord C. H. Somerset also did much to encourage this important particular.

from celebrated flocks in Germany, and ultimately reached Algoa Bay in May 1834. The loss on the passage had, however, we regret to say, been very severe. The flock originally consisted of 110 in number, but it had been reduced by deaths to 69. Notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances the shareholders have prosecuted their object with an indomitable spirit of perseverance which does them infinite credit, and which cannot fail in the sequel to confer a benefit on the whole colony, and that to an extent which, judging from some late circumstances, it is not very easy to calculate. The severe loss sustained on the voyage induced the association to depart from its original intention of supporting a joint-stock sheep farm, and hence the animals, pursuant to a resolution of the shareholders, were sold by public auction, on which occasion the whole were purchased by Albany farmers at a price varying from 38*l.* to 15*l.* per head. Thus these valuable animals are now dispersed amongst the different breeders of that district, and cannot fail to be of vast importance in the improvement of their flocks.

About the same time that these sheep arrived at Algoa Bay, thirty rams, of pure Saxon blood, arrived in Table Bay from New South Wales, imported by Capt. Robb, of the bark *Leda*. These sheep had been selected with much attention from the flocks of Mr, Alexander Riley; and were pronounced on their arrival in Cape Town, on being inspected by the committee of the Agricultural Society there, as, "upon the whole, as of greatly superior quality to any sheep that had before been introduced into that part of the colony; possessing that purity of the Saxon breed to which belongs every attribute of its finest wools; that is, combining weight and softness, with strength

and elasticity of staple, and closeness of fibre." Many of these sheep have reached the Eastern Province, and are distributed in the flocks of our principal breeders. More recently a further importation of sheep of the same quality has been made by Capt. Robb, at Algoa Bay, besides several smaller importations from Europe by private individuals.

Since this period several importations of Merino and Saxon sheep, both from New South Wales and from Europe, have been made; and there can be no doubt but that after the lapse of a few years Wool will be the *staple* article of export of the eastern province.

The year 1830 may be considered as the earliest period at which wool of any note had been exported from Algoa Bay; and the following, taken from the custom house books at that port, will shew its rapid progression:—

In 1830	exported	4,500 lbs.,	value	£ 222,
1831	„	10,600	„	551.
1832	„	19,700	„	935.
1833	„	44,896	„	2,649.
1834	„	59,266	„	3,279.

Such was the sudden rise and rapid progress of the wool trade up to the period when the neighbouring barbarians made their descent upon the colonists, many of whose flocks were dispersed with the proprietors when driven from their homes. Some of them were left for weeks to wander over the country, a prey to wolves or wild dogs, or still wilder and more ferocious savages. All the frontier farmers have suffered considerably in this way; in some instances their prospects have been totally blighted, and their establishments, broken up by the inroads of the enemy, have never since been resumed.

Many tracts of country along this frontier are eminently suited for depasturing sheep. The grasses are sweet and nutritious; the shrubs and bushes, which are scattered over the face of the country in rich profusion, highly beneficial; whilst the soil is firm and, in a great degree, free from that large admixture of sand which is found to be so detrimental to the finer wools.

Perhaps there is no country which offers a fairer prospect for the successful prosecution of this pursuit, than the eastern division of the Cape of Good Hope; (of course supposing always that it is rendered reasonably secure against the ruinous aggressions of the Kafirs). The native Cape ewes may be purchased in any quantity at from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 9*d.* each. Rams of nearly pure blood may now be obtained in the colony at from three to five pounds sterling each; and thus, with proper care and attention, and with ordinary success, in the course of a few years, a farmer with moderate means, may make a decent and comfortable provision for his family.

Another branch of trade which has been prosecuted with some success by the inhabitants of the province is that of salted provisions.* Several considerable shipments have been made from Algoa Bay to the Mauritius, and even to New South Wales; but these trials have been made with varied success. To the former the speculation may be considered to

* The Commissions of Inquiry dwell at considerable length on this important branch of trade. They remark, after enumerating the capabilities of the country in this respect—"An establishment has at length been effected at Port Elizabeth, on the eastern coast, with a fair prospect of success, in the curing and export of beef. The process of curing can be conducted in the winter months only; and as the cattle are then in good condition, and have no long journeys to perform, we think that an extensive export may be expected to take place for the supply of the Island of Mauritius, for that of vessels touching on their way from India, and eventually for the West India Islands—Vide Parliamentary Papers.

have been successful: one house at Graham's Town had, for some time, the government contract for salted provisions for the troops in that island, and fulfilled the engagement to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. The venture to New South Wales turned out a failure, as that colony is well able to supply her own wants in this article at a cheaper rate than it can be done from this colony. The subject of this branch of Cape trade has been lately brought to the notice of those in authority at home; and there is reason to expect that it will meet with that attention its importance demands; the Naval Victualling Board having been apprised of the advantages which must accrue to the Exchequer by obtaining supplies for vessels on this station, instead of taking them in from England or Ireland.* There is no country which presents so good an opening for a most extensive provision trade as the Cape of Good Hope, and particularly the eastern province. The inhabitants of the interior are almost exclusively engaged in pastoral employments, and the country and climate are eminently suited to cattle breeding. The average price of an ox in condition for slaughter is from £2 5s. to £2 10s.; a rate which enables the supplier to furnish shipping with beef of the prime quality at one penny per pound. It is indeed impossible to estimate with any approximation to accuracy the full extent of the benefit which might result both to the shipping interest and to our merchants and farmers were this trade followed up with spirit; were the capabilities of Algoa Bay as a har-

* Mr. T Phillips, Justice of the Peace for lower Albany, who is one of the emigrants of 1820, is now in London—and had in May last year—an interview at the colonial office with Mr Secretary Stanley, and afterwards with Mr. Spring Rice, on the subject of this important branch of trade.

bour carefully fostered and improved ; and were that encouragement and notoriety given to this important subject which it unquestionably merits.*

It is only necessary to glance the eye over the map to be convinced of the importance of its position ; whether we consider the existing relations between Europe and India, or its proximity to the extensive islands of the Mauritius and Madagascar, the productions of which are totally dissimilar ; the staples of one country being the necessaries of life, and of the other its luxuries. The salubrity of the climate is another important circumstance ; and which, were it fully known, must render it a place of resort for those voyagers who duly value the blessing of health, and who, on the passage to and from India, may be suffering under that debility which so frequently arises from a protracted a voyage, and the absence of those essential dietary refreshments which are here to be procured at moderate cost and in great

* The following letter inserted in the Public Ledger of Nov. 3d, 1834, will be perused with interest. Its high importance demands its extensive circulation.

“ On my voyage from Calcutta to London in the barque Sherbourne, we encountered in the month of July last, to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, one of those violent gales of wind so frequently met with in these latitudes at that season of the year. On the 3d day of the gale, which lasted 8 days, while hove-to, we lost our mainmast, and sprung the foremast. In this state we continued until the eighth day, when we bore up for Algoa Bay to refit, where I expected to find anchorage and shelter, but felt great fear as to obtaining the requisite stores. In all this my fears were very agreeably removed ; I not only found marine stores, but good blacksmiths and carpenters, and what is more, an intelligent and honest agent. The place is well supplied with excellent water, cattle and sheep in abundance ; also the finest vegetables, and poultry very cheap.

The harbour is an excellent one, and when those severe westwardly gales are blowing, which have so often proved destructive to lives and property, a ship may always safely run for Algoa Bay, and wait the return of moderate weather. I found the Bay precisely as laid down by that most intelligent navigator Horsburg. I was also informed that it was contemplated to build a Light-house on Cape Receiffe, and application on that subject had been made to the Cape Government. It was stated that it might be built at a comparatively small expense. If erected, its value would be very great, for by this means a vessel might run for the port, by night or day ; and another great consideration is, that vessels coming in sight might with certainty ascertain their longitude.

abundance. The orangeries, vineyards, and gardens, in the neighbouring village of Uitenhage shew the exceeding fertility of the soil, and the capability of the country and climate better than any argument.

But besides Algoa Bay the Eastern Province has also Mossel and Plettenberg Bays, both situated on the shore of the adjoining district of George. The former, which is the farthest to the west, is described as a perfectly good and safe harbour, capable of receiving vessels of every description: boats, it is said, can at all times land with safety. The latter is open to the S. E., but it affords safe anchorage in 8, 9, and 10 fathoms water; and likewise a most desirable shelter, during strong N. and N. W. gales, to vessels proceeding to the westward. Situated between these two bays is the river Knysna, and which, though narrow at the entrance, will admit vessels of moderate tonnage: it has been pronounced an excellent port. The country in its neighbourhood is extremely beautiful and productive, furnishing abundance of excellent timber of majestic growth. A vessel of 142 tons has been built there, from materials procured on the spot, by that public-spirited and highly esteemed colonist, Mr. G. Rex.

It will be seen from the above sketch that the

I am thus minute in my detail, fearing many other navigators may entertain the same opinion of Algoa Bay as I did myself before I put in there. It must be a source of great satisfaction to a mariner to be told he has a good port under his lee, and those who know it already will not, I hope, call it intrusive by asking you the favor of giving insertion to this letter in your widely circulated paper; and I have the further object too of recording the sense of the kindness and hospitality I have experienced from the inhabitants of that apparently favoured and happy spot. The climate is beautiful, timber fine, cattle prolific. The people hospitable, and to all appearance prolific too. There is a good whale fishery established there, and a considerable coasting trade with the Cape.

JOHN BURTON, Commander of the Barque Sherbourne.

East India Docks, Nov. 1, 1832.

shores of the Eastern Province are by no means deficient of harbours; it is true that the bays are exposed at certain points of the compass, and the rivers narrow at their mouths, but it is the opinion of most persons conversant with the subject that the former afford excellent anchorage and safe landing. It has also been considered that were *steam boats* employed on the coast they would be attended with immense advantage; as with them the rivers might be entered with safety, and vessels, whilst anchored in the roadstead, unloaded, or supplies furnished to them with the greatest facility. Every part of the coast offers abundance of fuel, without cost, and there can be no question but that, by means of steam-boats, both Port Frances and the great Fish River might be entered at all seasons of the year with ease and safety.*

Several whale fisheries have been established along the coast, and been prosecuted with various success. The most promising is that undertaken by Mr. F. Korsten, of Cradock's Town, near Port Elizabeth, an individual distinguished for his active exertions to develope, not alone in this, but in other particulars, the capabilities of this division of the colony. Capt. Owen, who, in the year 1832,

* The late Mr. H. Nourse, (brother to the late Commodore of that name,) who was the owner of a most beautiful estate still in the possession of the family on the right bank of the Kowie mouth, writes on the 19th Nov., 1833: "This morning three young men, of the name of King, ventured over the bar in a common flat-bottomed punt of twelve feet only, and returned not only in safety, but without the least difficulty, bringing with them as many fine fish as they thought the boat would carry, consisting of the dagarag, the red stump-nose, steinbrass, Hottentot and silver fish, of from two to ten pounds weight each, with which they are now setting off for Graham's Town, where I trust the sale of them will afford them ample compensation." These trips were afterwards made frequently and with the same success. The great drawback to the success of a fishery establishment, is not the danger or difficulty attending the prosecution of the employment, but the abundance and cheapness of other provisions on the spot, and which would render it necessary to have recourse to a distant market, were it followed to any extent. The Great Fish River, or Rio d' Infante. of the Portuguese, used formerly, it is said, to be frequented by that people, and that they

made a survey of the eastern coast of this colony, in H. M. ship "Barracouta," has likewise made a report very favorable to the future prospects of the inhabitants. "The approach of ships to the coast;" observes he, in his interesting work since published, "is in all parts free from danger, with good anchorage ground. During both monsoons a heavy swell sets in shore; yet there are few points where boats may not land more than half the year, and there is no doubt, that vessels *properly constructed*, might carry on a coasting trade with much safety and advantage. The Government, however, have not given sufficient attention to this subject, their only settlements on the coast being Port Elizabeth and Kowie River. There appears, nevertheless, one great source of gain open to enterprise in the great bank of L'Agulhus, *which is equal to that of Newfoundland, and would probably be as productive a fishing establishment as any in the world*. Salt is destructively plentiful, being the principal draw-back to the fertility of the soil; while a market for salt fish may be found in every direction, including Bourbon, Mauritius, Mozambique, and even India. From Cape Padron, along the E. coast, are numerous situations adapted for such establishments."

To shew the actual resources of this part of the colony, it will only be necessary to place on record the following statistical return, for the year 1834, and which has been compiled with as much care as the recently disturbed state of public affairs would admit of.

built a fort on its banks. If this be true, time has obliterated every trace of it: but still the fact of its capability to admit vessels has been demonstrated; Mr. J. Bailie, one of the emigrants of 1820, having entered the river in the government cutter *Thomas*, on the 19th Sept., 1825. Mr. B. offered subsequently to pilot in a vessel drawing 12 feet water.

DISTRICT.	Cattle.	Sheep, Goats, & Swine.	Horses.	Bushels of Grain produced.
George,	29,242	54,681	3,685	40,650
Uitenhage,	67,710	130,291	3,458	42,267
Albany,	40,250	119,700	2,745	39,800
Somerset,	81,702	766,584	7,477	30,687
Graaff-Reinet,	59,792	123,100	5,074	42,000
Total,	278,696	1,194,356	22,439	195,404

Every village above referred to, together with Port Elizabeth, has its Market, which is open every day for the sale of produce, or at least as often as the farmers resort there for that purpose. These markets are but indifferently attended, except that held at Graham's Town, which from the great competition amongst its numerous traders, and the demand for produce, occasioned partly by the consumption of the military, attracts nearly the whole of the growers, who prefer in general making a journey thither—sometimes of several hundred miles—to disposing of their goods at their own homes, even should they realise the same prices. To the Dutch-African farmer a journey to market is rather an excursion of pleasure than a matter of toil and difficulty. He is frequently accompanied by the females of his household, who out of the sale of his produce are indulged with a stock of finery, or provided with necessaries for the ensuing year.

The public market at Graham's Town is held every morning at nine o'clock, and is well attended,—not merely by the man of business, but also by those who are in quest of information and amusement. The groups which are sometimes met with around the assembled wagons are not less grotesque than the contents of the vehicle itself. An athletic farmer, clad in his striped-cotton jacket, leathern trowsers, his

feet merely protected by "veld-schoen," (shoes made of raw hide) with his broad-brimmed slouched hat, from beneath which projects his huge pipe; by the side of him, on a rude manufactured camp-stool, sits his "huisvrouw,"—but little less in stature than her husband, and in general far more *en bon point*,—and around them are two or three daughters—perfect amazons—in full health and in high spirits, dressed out in their holiday suits, viz: shewy printed cotton gowns, and antiquated caps, bedizened with ribbons, answering the double purpose of cap and bonnet;—the latter being an article of dress, with which the younger females are seldom encumbered. To complete the group the outer circle consists of Hottentots or "apprenticed domestics" (late slaves) of the family: and if resident near the frontier, of several nearly naked Bushmen. Such are the parties who frequently resort to this market, and with whom a most lucrative trade is conducted. The produce generally exhibited by the more remote farmers is extremely curious and diversified. Amidst more homely and staple articles are often displayed ivory, the skins of wild animals, such as the lion, the panther, quagga, "wilde beest," buffalo, elephant, hippopotami, rhinoceros, &c., together with a variety of rudely-manufactured articles obtained from the natives beyond the northern limits of the colony. But besides the rude back settler, we have the more opulent and better informed grain and wine farmer, each with the productions of his respective farm. In order, however, that the reader may form a correct idea of the extent and value of this traffic, the following return of the number of wagons attending the Market, and of the amount of produce sold during the year 1834, has been compiled from the Register, kept by the clerk of the market:—

Statement of the number of Wagons on the Market at Graham's Town, and the value of Produce sold, between the 1st of January and 31st of December 1834.

	No. of wagons.	Amount of sale.		
1834.		£	s.	d.
January,	170	1,193	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
February,	212	2,008	9	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
March,	213	1,844	4	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
April,	222	1,997	11	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
May,	234	2,047	15	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
June,	166	1,614	8	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
July,	213	2,420	11	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
August,	188	2,058	13	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
September,	196	1,980	12	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
October,	205	2,129	7	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
November,	238	2,089	7	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
December, (to the 24th).....	152	1,251	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total for the year,		2,409	22,635	4 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

The intercourse thus kept up between the English and Dutch inhabitants has been attended with the most important results. The African farmer on the border is quite a different character from that portrayed some twenty or thirty years ago. He is rapidly acquiring a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life; and his manners are in a corresponding degree assimilating to the standard of European propriety. He also begins to estimate the advantages of education for his children; and in general manifests a most praiseworthy desire that they should acquire a knowledge of letters and of the English language.

With regard to the general trade of the frontier it must be observed, that it was not until the close of 1827, that it assumed a decided and permanent character. The year 1828 may, therefore, be taken as

the commencement of the *direct* trade from Port Elizabeth to the mother country: and hence the following return from that port will shew its rapidly growing importance in a very striking manner:—

In 1828 the exports and imports were £ 96,591

1829	do.	do.	122,791
1830	do.	do.	150,570
1831	do.	do.	120,451
1832	do.	do.	201,644
1833	do.	do.	213,309
1834	do.	do.	236,563

The above includes the trade through Table Bay, as well as that direct with foreign ports; it may, therefore, be necessary to observe, that the *direct* trade with the parent country has augmented from £18,500, which was the amount in 1828, to £122,661, its estimated value in 1834.

Such is a brief epitome of the rise, progress, and extent of the frontier trade up to the period when the barbarian tribes beyond the eastern frontier burst into the colony like an *avalanch*, overwhelming in undistinguishing ruin farmers and traders; sweeping off immense herds of cattle,—applying the fire-brand to the peaceful cottage,—murdering the defenceless inhabitants,—overrunning the whole of the British settlement of Albany, (with the exception of Graham's Town,) and upwards, to a distance of 90 miles from the coast, and rendering desart in one short week the fairest and most promising portion of the colony.

It is quite impossible to calculate the extent, or to foresee the consequence, of this unprovoked and ruinous inroad. The inland trade has been entirely annihilated, and every trader ruined. Whether the trade will ever be resumed is a problem still to be

solved, and which must altogether depend upon the line of policy laid down by the Government, in relation to the savage invaders. If the measures recently adopted by His Excellency the Governor be approved and confirmed by the Home Government, and if a Lieutenant-Governor be appointed to guard its future interests, as recommended by the Commissioners of Inquiry, there are still hopes that the Eastern Province will again rise from its ruins—will still go forward in the march of improvement—thus enlarging the bounds of human knowledge, by opening up an acquaintance with unknown people and unexplored countries, as well as benefiting the parent country, by employing a part of its redundant population, and by absorbing a considerable amount of her manufactured goods. But if the Government still treat us with neglect,—if, from mistaken views on the subject, or—which is more especially to be feared—if from a most false and dangerous philanthropy, the measures of the Governor be not ratified,—then the Eastern Province must retrograde,—the enormous expense incurred, and the great exertion used in the establishment of the British settlement of Albany, will have been entirely thrown away,—every man, who has the means of removal, will quit a position where property is held by a tenure so insecure and precarious, where he sensibly feels that he is left at the mercy of barbarian hordes,—and where he and his children may, after years of patient industry and frugality, be again suddenly hurled from comfort and independence to the lowest depth of poverty and distress.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFTER the preceding pages had issued from the press, information of a deeply interesting character was received in the colony with respect to the proceedings of the traders at Port Natal. It would appear that by the influence and exertions of Captain Gardiner the confused state of society there had been reduced to something like order; and that the little community of British residents had united their efforts to found a town, to be governed by salutary regulations; to erect a church, in communion with the Church of England; and also to establish a free school and public hospital. Subscriptions had been set on foot among themselves to effect these important objects; and Captain Gardiner is now on his way to Europe for the purpose of using his influence and endeavors to interest the British public and the government in the same important work.

By the same opportunity we learn the melancholy fate of Messrs Collis and Berken, respecting whom the following details were published in the "*Graham's Town Journal*" of the 3d December:—

The information communicated by Captain Gardiner is highly important as well as deeply painful. Amongst the victims to African discovery and commercial enterprize we have now to add that of Mr. James Collis, whose melancholy fate will not fail to cause the most poignant regret to a numerous circle of friends, by whom he was highly esteemed, and who well knew how to appreciate the value of that spirit of enterprize by which he has been distinguished ever since his arrival in this colony amongst the British emigrants of 1820. It appears that on the 24th September he had occasion to visit a store or magazine in which was deposited his

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

stock of gunpowder, and that whilst there he was so imprudent as to snap the lock of a musket, a spark from which communicated to the powder. In an instant the whole exploded, scattering in undistinguishable ruin every person in the building, to the number of five or six souls, and every article which it contained! It is supposed that the store contained at the time at least 1,000 pounds of gunpowder, together with some ivory, and a few other articles of little note. So destructive was the effect of this explosion, as may be supposed, that the entire remains of Mr. C., or of the other persons who shared his fate, have never been fully identified. Thus perished an individual, who, for the last fifteen years of his life, has been incessantly employed in opening up the resources of this part of the African continent, both as regards its agricultural and its commercial capabilities. To considerable intelligence and activity, Mr. Collis added a most romantic love of adventure, and an indomitable spirit of perseverance, which could neither be quelled by disappointment, or diverted from the object of pursuit by difficulties, however great or apparently insuperable. Several years ago Mr. C. made an extensive journey, in company with Mr. J. C. Chase, beyond the northern boundary of the colony; but having subsequently traversed the country to the eastward, he found it so very superior to any thing he had met with before, whilst Port Natal appeared to present so many and such great advantages for colonization, that he at once made up his mind to make it his future residence; and to this point all the energies of an active mind have been directed for the last five years. He had exercised a salutary influence amongst the other traders, and had recently engaged in business in conjunction with Messrs. C. & H. Maynard and B. Norden, of Graham's Town, on rather an extensive scale. We learn that he had collected a considerable quantity of ivory. which is now in the charge of Mr. R. Biggar.

There appears also to be no hopes left with regard to the safety of the cutter "Circe," she having sailed from Natal in April last, since which no tidings have been heard of her. We regret to state that she has on board, as passenger, Mr. Berken, a gentleman of great intelligence, and with considerable means at his command. He was by birth a Pole, and had been forced to expatriate himself to escape the tyranny of

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the Russian despot. He was of a family of considerable note and of high character—offences in the estimation of a tyrant quite sufficient to lead to its proscription and destruction, if possible. He travelled with Captain Gardiner as a friend and companion ; and being delighted with the situation and advantages presented at Port Natal, he was about to establish himself there : and having so determined, he had taken a passage in the “ Circe,” for the purpose of visiting the colony, and making a purchase of stock and other necessaries. Unfortunately there is now not the most slender hopes of his having escaped a premature grave, together with the two or three persons who composed the crew of the vessel ; which, it may be added, was on far too diminutive a scale to contend with the boisterous gales and cross currents that are met with on this coast.

With the exception of these melancholy tidings, the information communicated by Captain Gardiner is of a most gratifying character. It appears to be pretty certain that whether the government at home take up the matter or not, the colonization of Port Natal will proceed. And it is not a little fortunate for the settlers now there, and for those who may hereafter proceed thither, that they will have had the benefit of the sound council of such an individual as Captain G., whose straight-forward dealings and scrupulous integrity appear to have softened the obduracy even of the iron-hearted Zoola chief ; and whose motives seem to be comprehended and appreciated by him with perfect correctness. It is understood that Captain G. will, after having had a conference with His Excellency the Governor, proceed forthwith to London, where he purposes to bring the subject again under the consideration of His Majesty’s government : and also to influence the public in favor of the embryo settlement ; and we doubt not, from his standing in society, but that his efforts will be crowned with a considerable degree of success.

The following copy of the PETITION of the British residents at Natal to His Excellency the Governor of Cape, is highly creditable both for the sentiments it contains, and for the object which it purposes to have in view :—

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Petition of the Householders of the Town of D'Urban,
Port Natal.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

We the undersigned British subjects, inhabitants of Port Natal and its vicinity, have commenced building a town, called D'URBAN, in honor of your Excellency.

We hold in our possession extensive tracts of excellent land, a considerable portion of which has long been under cultivation; many of us are occupied in conducting a valuable trade in hides and ivory, the former of which are almost exclusively obtained within the limits, which by mutual consent of surrounding chieftains has been conceded to us.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Chaka, late King of the Zoolas, and other causes, the whole country included between Umzimcoola and Togala Rivers is now unoccupied by its original possessors; and with a very few exceptions is totally uninhabited.

Numbers of natives from time to time have entered this settlement for protection; the amount of whom at this present moment cannot be less than 3,000.

These all acknowledge us as their chiefs, and look to us for protection, notwithstanding which we are living in the neighbourhood of powerful native states without the shadow of a law, or a recognized authority among us.

We therefore humbly pray your Excellency for the sake of humanity,—for the upholding the British character in the eyes of the natives,—for the well-being of this increasing community,—for the cause of morality and religion, to transmit this our petition to His Majesty's government, praying that it may please His Majesty to recognize the country intervening between the Umzimcoola and Togala Rivers, which we have named VICTORIA, in honor of our august Princess, as a colony of the British empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them, in concert with a body of representatives chosen by ourselves, to constitute a house of assembly. And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

SKETCH OF KAFFRARIA.

General features and boundaries of the country occupied by the Amakosa Kafirs.—Their origin and history.—The genealogy of the Chiefs.—Their hereditary rank.—The population of their country.—The Kafir polity or form of government.—Their military organization.—Their judicial proceedings.—Their religion.—Their language.—Progress of civilization.

THE country of the Amakosa Kafirs, as settled by the treaty of 1819, is bounded on the east by the Bashee, or St. John's River, on the south by the Indian ocean ; on the north by the Amatembu territory ; on the north-east partly by some thinly scattered tribes called Amadeko. Behind them is a chain of mountains, stretching from the Amatoli due east, until they gradually die away towards the western bank of the Zimvooba River in the Amaponda country ; on the west it is bounded by the Chumie, until its confluence with the Keiskamma, which stream it follows to the sea. Its form is nearly rectangular. Its extreme length, from west to east, may be about 150 miles, and its mean width, from the sea to the mountain range, about 90, giving an area of 13,500 square miles.

The whole of this tract of country is clothed with the finest pasturage, far superior in general to that within the colonial boundary. The face of the country evidently improves as it extends further to

the eastward. In the neighbourhood of the Umtata it assumes a truly beautiful appearance, and the soil is known to be of the most fertile character. Most of the streams are free from that admixture of saline matter, which is peculiar to those adjacent to, and within the colony, and which renders them not only unpalatable, but in some cases highly injurious. The coast here is much bolder than that which skirts the colony; and it is believed and confidently affirmed, that the Umtata offers a safe and commodious haven for shipping. This is doubtless a point of great interest and importance, and one, therefore, deserving the attention of the colonial government. On the borders of this river reside a people, under the chieftainship of Depa, who is the son of an European mother, but of what country has not been ascertained, though from the name of her daughter it may be inferred she was English. It appears, however, from all that has been gathered, that she, with some others, must have been cast on that coast when very young, more than a century ago. Mr. Van Reenen, an enterprising Dutch colonist, who visited them in 1790, says,—“We found that they (i. e. some of the inhabitants) were descendants from whites, some too from slaves of mixed colour, and natives of the East Indies.” Of the descendants of these unfortunate females only two can now be traced with any degree of certainty, and these are Depa, the chief, and his sister, a widow; and whose daughter, Nonube, married the Kafir chief Dushanie. She is now a widow, and it is an interesting fact that during the recent commotions she distinguished herself by undeviating kindness to the traders, and attachment to the English cause.

At the mouth of a small river called the Umpakoo, situated a short distance to the west of the Umtata,

is one of the greatest curiosities in Southern Africa. It is described as a mass of rock or iron stone, stretching across the stream, and forming a dam to its waters. Through this obstacle the river has, however, forced a passage, and now presents a natural tunnel, about forty feet in diameter. This remarkable spot is usually designated by travellers "the hole in the wall." Notwithstanding the stream finds an outlet through the excavation, still the rock impedes the current to a considerable extent, and hence the waters collecting at the narrow entrance, spread themselves out and form a beautiful lagoon, giving an indescribable charm to the wild but romantic scenery around. The Rev. W. Shaw, who visited the spot in 1828, describes this scene in the following striking terms: "I never before felt" says he "such sensations of admiration on viewing a landscape as those I was constrained to indulge during the few moments we halted, to look at this spot. The undulatory hills on each side of the river; the lagoon at the foot of the iron mountain; the tremendous breakers, incessantly roaring on the beach, and foaming through the perforation in the rock; the sun just setting, and on the opposite side of the horizon, the pale moon, having filled her horn, rising above the waters of the Southern Ocean, of which we had at the same moment an extensive view, formed altogether such a grand and beautiful constellation of objects, that I felt considerable regret on leaving the spot."

Respecting the country beyond the range of mountains to the northward, nothing very accurate is known. From the reports, however, of those who have traversed it, it is said to be a most delightful tract, abounding with wood and water, diversified by ridges and valleys, and clothed with rich herbage. The mountains which divide it from the

Bechuana country on the north, and from the Amakosa territory on the south, are exceedingly rugged, particularly the former, which are described as of so formidable and impracticable a character, that even Matiwana's people, a nation of freebooters, had the greatest difficulty in descending them into the depopulated country lying between the two ranges. They present nothing but a succession of the most frightful precipices, supporting, like stupendous buttresses, the immense plains and deserts of the interior. The unoccupied land forms a kind of shelf, being considerably higher than the country occupied by the Kafirs. Its extent is not accurately known; but as it took Matiwana three days to cross it, its width may be judged to be about 60 or 70 miles; in length it stretches from the colonial frontier to the neighbourhood of Natal, a distance of at least four hundred miles; comprising an area of about 24,000 square miles.* Beyond the territory of the Amapondas, the whole of the country, from the mountains to the sea, for a distance of 200 miles, is unoccupied by man; and hence it may be fairly calculated, that the waste lands bordering on the territories of the Kafirs do not fall short of 40,000 square miles. Notwithstanding such is the fact, it has been boldly asserted—and credited too at a distance—that by the continual encroachments of the colonists, the Kafir tribes have been cooped up in

* This country is beautifully traced on a map, recently executed by Mr. Arrowsmith. We refer such of our readers to this map as desire to form a correct idea of the more recent additions made to the geography of this part of the African continent. For most of these additions the public are indebted to the industry and talent of Mr. Chase, whose labours in this respect have been turned to account by another without either permission or acknowledgement. With respect, however, to this map, it may be remarked that there are still some parts which require correction, particularly in the delineation of some of the principal rivers which intersect the Kafir country.

a country far too small for their wants as a pastoral people; nor have those who have made this assertion hesitated to attribute to this cause those aggressive inroads within the colonial boundary which have been of such frequent occurrence, ever since this angle of the African continent has been a dependency of the British Crown. Nothing, however, can shew more clearly the groundlessness of this charge, than the fact just stated; nor can any thing more clearly exhibit the utter ignorance on this subject of those who have made the accusation. But not only is this tract of country important on account of its extent, but its value is enhanced by its salubrity, the fertility of its soil, and the nature of its grasses. Many of the colonial farmers have traversed it on their hunting excursions: whilst some of them have resided in different parts of it for months, and even years. These all concur in praise of its great capabilities to support either an agricultural or pastoral people, and that, in these respects, it is far superior to the country comprised within the colonial boundary. No very sufficient reason can be assigned for its non-occupation; but doubtless the most cogent is, a desire to keep at a respectful distance from the formidable warlike nations under the sway of Dingaan and Masselikatse. The mountain region forms a sort of natural bulwark against their approach; whilst the intervening distance ensures them, in some degree, against any sudden surprise from this dreaded quarter. But besides this the natives have an unconquerable predilection for crowding upon the colonial frontier—a circumstance which may be readily accounted for, by the fact that they there enjoy far greater security, both of person and property, than the tribes further in the interior.

How long the Amakosa tribes have occupied the country where they now reside must be left, in a great measure, to conjecture. Tradition pours but a feeble light through a long vista of ages; but as far as this goes it would seem that they had penetrated to the river Kei as early as the year 1675. It is further said that they came down obliquely from the interior; that the Hottentots came down in the same direction, but always to their right. To what extent this tradition may be relied on it is difficult to say, but there is one strong fact which goes to prove that their occupancy of the country westward of the Kei is a circumstance of comparatively recent date.

It is undeniable that every river from the Koboqaba—a small stream on the east side of the Kei—to the colony, bears a name of Hottentot etymology; whilst every river in a contrary direction has a name of pure Kafir origin. At the period of their settlement on the Kei, the chief *Togah* was the acknowledged head of the Amakosa; and it was at his death that his two sons *Tinde* and *Keitshe* passed that boundary, and located themselves in the country between the Kalumna (or properly Krumna according to Hottentot etymology,) and Buffalo Rivers. At this time it would appear that the Gonaqua Hottentot tribe, the unquestionable proprietors of this territory, were not a very numerous people; and hence they were but very thinly spread over the country, now encroached on by the intruding Kafirs. No effort appears to have been made to resist their insidious progress; they were quietly permitted to fix themselves firmly in the soil, whilst the actual proprietors of it were content with a tract of country below them on the coast, where—and along the course of the Buffalo, and up to the sources of the Keiskamma Rivers—they had

their chief kraals. At this period the Dutch company held cattle places on various points along the frontier to which the cattle obtained by barter from the adjacent tribes were sent for pasturage. One of these stations, situated in the Zuurveld, now Albany, had been placed under the command of a Gonaqua Hottentot, named Umkohla,* (or, as he was called by the colonists, Ruiter,) and who, in token of his office, held a staff or baton from the colonial authorities. It appears that about the year 1785, this person was induced to permit the Kafirs—who were then gradually encroaching on the lands towards the colony—to graze their herds on the same pasturage; for which indulgence he was to receive, as payment, a few head of cattle. To this imprudent act may be attributed most of those disasters, which for several years after befel the colonists. The wily and dishonest Kafir no sooner obtained footing in the country, than he commenced a series of depredations on the neighbouring inhabitants. The colonial farmers were forced in consequence to abandon the country to the treacherous enemy, and to retire northward to Brintjes Hoogte,—their habitations were burnt and pillaged; and it was not till 1793, that the colonial Government were enabled to expel the invaders. The force employed on this occasion was commanded by Mr. Maynier, Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, who, as we have already observed in the 1st part of this work, (page 21,) was induced ul-

* The grandson of this identical Gonaqua is at this moment living in the tribe of Kafirs under Pato. He is said to be a remarkably fine and intelligent young man; and we are also informed that he distinguished himself during the late commotions on the frontier, by his activity and address, as well as for his fidelity to the British cause. Though in a state of great poverty, still he is held entitled to the rank of, and takes precedence as, a chief amongst the Kafir tribes.

timately to conclude a hollow and unsatisfactory peace, the stipulations of which were observed only until the colonial force was disbanded, and the farmers of whom it was composed had returned to their respective homes.

The early history of the Kafirs is veiled in impenetrable obscurity. Not having any writings, and their language being highly figurative, it is impossible to place any dependance upon their wild traditional stories. For instance, they tell you that their early progenitors came out of a cave, situated at a great distance to the eastward; and that, in process of time, they spread themselves over the country to the westward. It is more than probable that all this had originally nothing more than a reference to the rising and setting of the sun; but has been corrupted in the course of time, and by the uncertainty of oral communication, to this extravagant fiction.

Considerable research has been made by Missionaries resident in Kafirland to trace their national history; but we believe the farthest era to which it can be carried with any probability of accuracy is to the time of the chief Zwedi, from whom all the chiefs claim lineal descent, and who probably lived about two centuries or two centuries and a half ago. By the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Shepstone, Wesleyan Missionary, who has resided eleven years among these people—devoting much labour not only to their evangelization, but also to their civilization, and who has studied their history and customs with considerable attention—we are enabled to give the accompanying genealogical table, shewing the descent of the several chiefs now claiming authority among the several Kafir tribes.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KAFIR TRIBES.

No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.
Zwedi, Umbulali, Injanye, Zangwa, Cira, Cikini, Unto, Sale, Qeugebe, Majola, Gwanya, Pahlo, Umcombi, Umyeki,	Malangana, *Ponda & Sikomo Kondwani, Gendise, Cabe, Qiya, Ceme, Puta, Matai, Makala, Pahlo, Halo, Qanda,	Malandela, Umqute, *Tembu, Bomoi, Cedume, Tosi, Xekwa, Dunakazi, Hala, Nadibe, Thakha, Tato, Zondwa, Dabe, Vusani, Vadanna,
	Tshawe Xosa, or *Kosa, Togu, Conde, Tshiwu, Palo, Galeka, Karabi, Kouta, Umlau, Hintza, Gaika, Keli,	Quani, Thakha, Ishaka, Zondwa, Dabe, Vusani, Vadanna,
	Bala, Citwayo, Dayeni, Tahle, Bibi, Nyanza, Songa Qugushe, Depa, Faku,	T'slambe, Dushani, Cunha, Pato.

REFERENCES.—No. 1 is the main branch of the royal family of Kafirland, but which has now dwindled down, under Umyeki, to about 600 fighting men. No. 2: Malangana, the second son of Umbulali, or "the Killer," is the father chief of what now forms the principal tribes of Mambookies, as well as the father of the Amakosa or Kafir tribe, by his second son Sikomo.

From this table it will be seen that the Tambookies, or Amatembu, and the Amaconda, or Mambookie tribes are both branches, in a direct line, of what the colonists usually term the great Kafir family; and must, therefore, be considered as so many parts of one distinct nation or people, amongst the numerous and diversified kingdoms of the African continent. It has been erroneously supposed that on a chief of the Amakosa Kafirs taking a wife from the Amatembu or Tambookie tribes, his children by her had the pre-eminence in hereditary rank of the elder children born of an Amakosa woman: but it will be seen from the foregoing table that it is not simply the circumstance of her belonging to the Amatembu, but from the fact of that branch of the Kafir family claiming direct descent from Zwedi, the acknowledged progenitor of their great chiefs. Thus SANDILLI, the youngest son of the late chief Gaika, being by a Tambookie woman of high rank, is acknowledged to take precedence of Macomo and Tyali, and all his elder brethren. Where, however, a Mambookie or Amaconda woman of rank is connected by marriage with a chief of the Amakosa Kafirs, the children by her—she belonging to a still elder branch of the family—claims and enjoys this enviable superiority. The simple fact, therefore, is that it matters not whence the woman comes, it is the degree of propinquity in which she stands to the great chief, that gives her children rank and power. Dis-

REFERENCES TO GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Those chiefs whose names are distinguished by an asterisk, thus—* have doubtless conferred the generic names on the three principal divisions of Kaffraria; for instance, Amaconda is evidently derived from Conda; Abatembu from Tembu; and Amakosa from Kosa; the term *Ama* and *Aba* being merely plural prefixes peculiar to the language.

QUANI was adopted by Tshiwo on account of his personal valor and address as a warrior, and was for ever, with his children, to be entitled to the rank and privileges of a chief. This title is held valid to the present day, and has never been called in question.

putes often arise on this subject, but they are in general speedily settled by a national council, where the pedigree of the several tribes and families are as well understood and as accurately traced as though they had amongst them a college of heraldry, and voluminous records for reference. But although there is but one chief woman, yet there are what is termed by the Kafirs the right and left hand houses, at the head of which preside the two women next in rank to the chief or great wife; the eldest sons of whom have a portion of the tribe assigned to them as a right; and over which they exercise absolute control, without being at all amenable to the higher branch of the family. This will account for the numerous petty tribes of Kaffraria. These, however, often, in the third or fourth generation, again merge into one common stock; but at other times they become fixed and separate branches of the nation: as, for instance, at the present day we find the Amakosa and Amatembu branches perfectly distinct from that of the Mambookie.

Before we proceed, there is one striking fact which we wish particularly to impress upon the mind of our readers, as it will serve to shew the unfounded character of those slanderous accusations which have, by a certain class of writers on the colony, been brought against the frontier inhabitants. We allude here immediately to those charges of cruelty and injustice in having, as it has been alleged, pillaged the Kafir tribes without ceremony or remorse: the strong fact, therefore, that we produce in opposition to this is, that the Amakosa Kafirs, whose country is immediately contiguous to the colony, and who are the people said to be so plundered are by far the richest branch of the great Kafir family. Both the Amatembu and Mambookie tribes are far

less opulent in what is esteemed as the real *summum bonum*—the true riches of the country—cattle, than the more fortunate Amakosa. We leave those who are curious in such matters to reconcile this with the recorded opinion of Mr Pringle's reviewer, that "unless some change of system be enforced by the government at home, the nation will gradually perish by murders, by massacres, and by *want*!" (See note page 15.)

As these people have no records among them, and as their traditions do not go farther back, or throw any stronger light on their origin than as already stated, the whole is left to analogy, or to inferences deduced from their customs, and the peculiarities of their language. Thus many persons suppose that they can discover in many of their ceremonies an affinity to those established by the antient Jews. The rite of circumcision, which is scrupulously attended to by all the Kafir tribes, is of this description; and hence conjectures have been hazarded that they are either the descendants of Abraham by Ishmael, or of some of Abraham's household, who passed through this ceremony with him on the same day.*

Whether there be any foundation for this hypothesis or not we leave to the unbiassed judgment of the reader. But at all events it appears to be very clear that these tribes, whatever their origin, have greatly degenerated from the manners and customs of their forefathers. The barbarous state of nudity in which they are found at the present day,—and which indicates the very lowest grade of savage life—is evidently an innovation upon former custom. The dress of the lads when under noviciate for the ceremony above

*Vide Genesis chap. xxvii; verse 23.

referred to, is most probably something of the pattern of their former style of clothing; and which may also be inferred from its resembling that adopted by the more interior tribes at the present day; but these decent habiliments are laid aside as soon as the initiation is completed, and the novices are admitted into the society of men.

There are many other peculiarities in their manners and customs which discover a much higher state of morals than that which they now enjoy. Among these remains may be enumerated that scrupulous regard in abstaining from the most distant approach to incestuous intercourse. The absurd length to which this is carried at the present day only goes to prove that a custom which was, in its origin, praiseworthy, has been corrupted by the lapse of time, so as to deaden the most sacred affections of the human mind, and to mar the most pure and amiable associations—that of social family intercourse. So rigid are the Kafir customs on the subject of consanguinity that the most distant relationship is a sufficient bar to future marriages between the members of the family who are thus connected; and so suspiciously guarded are they upon this point that sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law dare not even sit in the same room or company, nor will they meet each other in the field if it can be avoided: when by accident they happen to meet on the high road, the woman always turns aside, or stands behind some screen, as a bush, &c., till her relative has passed. They may converse, but it must be at such a distance that the possibility of every thing being heard around is fully secured.

In the formation of missionary establishments in Kaffraria this has been found a serious difficulty; it

being quite opposed to their ideas of propriety for those related by marriage to assemble promiscuously together, even for Divine Worship. It may appear to be a matter of extreme difficulty to pay attention to this observance where the parties reside in the same hamlet, as is commonly the case; but however difficult, it is nevertheless carefully attended to. Abundant proofs may be found where persons so circumstanced reside at the distance from each other of merely a few yards, and yet, for ten or twenty years together have never been known to sit in the same room, or mix in the same company. All communication between them has taken place at a certain distance apart, or through the medium of a third person. Instances have been known where a strong temptation, in the shape of a present, has been purposely held out to a Kafir female in order to induce her to violate this custom, but it has been ineffectual: no gift whatever could induce her to infringe upon what she had been taught to esteem a sacred observance.

Another custom which is scrupulously regarded is, that no stranger can be allowed to sleep in a hut occupied by married people. Thus, should a traveller arrive ever so late at night, and there are no huts but such as are occupied by married persons, the custom of the country refuses him a shelter. Nor does this arise from a want of hospitality, for they have another law which provides that if a traveller should stop at a kraal or hamlet without being supplied with food, and should he be subsequently found dead upon the road, the inference is—unless he discover any marks of violence on the person—that he died of hunger, and the captain of the kraal where he last slept is held responsible for his death, and is amerced in a serious fine accordingly.

The above instances will be sufficient to prove that the Kafirs have amongst them the relics of customs which clearly indicate a much higher state of morals, and far greater advancement in civilization than that which is now perceived or found amongst them; but these are so blended with disgusting and sensual vices, with appalling cruelties, and with the most barbarous rites and practices, that they merely serve, as it were, to render the moral darkness in which they are enshrouded distinct and palpable. To affect any material amelioration in the condition of such a people must be a work of time. The process by which inveterate superstitions and usages are undermined and eradicated is slow, and not very perceptible to the cursory observer; but to the man who can follow the workings of the human mind through its various changes, the slightest improvement will be quickly perceived and duly appreciated. The simple circumstance of their language having been arranged and reduced to a written standard is a wide step in improvement; whilst the dissemination of knowledge by means of schools, the introduction amongst them of a few of the most useful arts, and of some approximation to an equitable trade, are all so many indications of advancement in the scale of society; which, if carefully fostered, promise ultimately to be attended with the most momentous consequences.

The Kafir tribes may now be considered as divided into six great divisions: viz. the Mambookies or Amapondas, under Faku; the Amatembu or Tembookies, lately under Voosani, (now deceased). The Amakosa, lately under—1st Hintza, 2d Gaika, 3d T'slambie, 4th Pato, Kama, and Cobus. From the best information that can be obtained, the total population, antecedent to the late war, was as follows:—

POPULATION OF KAFFRARIA IN 1834.

Nation.	Principal Chiefs	Petty Chiefs who divide the power of the principal Chiefs amongst them.	No. Men.	No. Women.	TOTAL		TOTAL.
					Men.	Women & Children.	
Amaponda.	FAKU.	Capai, and others.	33,000	132,000	33,000	132,000	165,000
Amatembu,	Late VOOSANI.	Umyeki, Depa, (who occupies the mountains), and others.	12,000	48,000	12,000	48,000	60,000
Amakosa,	GAIKA,	Botma. Quno, Macomo, Tyali, Nonjinka, and others.	8,000	32,000			
	T'SLAMBE.	Umbala, Umkay, Dushani's son, now a minor, Kasana, Siyolo, Habana, Funo,	8,000	32,000			
	PATO, KAMA, COBUS.	Several petty Chiefs, but not of note.	2,000	8,000			
	HINTZA,	Buku, Umpethla, Umgundu, Magwa, and others.	16,000	64,000	34,000	136,000	170,000
		Grand Total,			79,000	316,000	395,000

The polity or form of government existing amongst the Kafirs is remarkable, not more for its simplicity than its efficiency. With reference to their judicial proceedings, although they have no records, yet their laws are as well understood, and their forms of court as rigidly observed, as though jurisprudence had been reduced to a profession, and its study made the business of a life. Every chief is the supreme magistrate or judge in his own tribe, and he alone has the power of life or death. Instances have occurred where petty chiefs have exercised this power; but this is always considered an infringement on the unquestionable prerogative of the principal, and the party assuming this power is liable to be mulct in a severe penalty.

The chief of the tribe has associated with him in his judicial capacity, a number of inferior magistrates or officers, whose duty it is to assist in the preservation of good order. Amongst these the gradation of power is very simple and well-defined. For instance, the master or head man of every kraal or hamlet is magistrate of that particular kraal, and all differences amongst the people who compose it are expected to be brought before him; and it is his business to use his endeavours to adjust the dispute in such a way that it shall proceed no further. If, however, it be found in the sequel that the parties will not submit to his decision, or that either of them is dissatisfied, the dissentient has the right of appeal to the chief, or magistrate, of the river on which that particular kraal is situated; there being always an officer appointed to preside over each neighbourhood or section of country inhabited by the respective tribes. The individual exercising this

authority is usually a man possessing considerable property, and who is also a member of the national council.

But even from his award the litigants have the power of removing their cases to a still higher power. The supreme court is open to them, and to this tribunal they can always appeal; and do not scruple in numerous cases to avail themselves of the privilege. In taking this step the parties are, however, required to explain minutely the whole case, to detail its progress through each inferior court, as also the finding of the several magistrates, together with the reasons assigned by them for their respective conclusions; finally they are requested to state explicitly the exact cause of their dissatisfaction with the adjudication in the case in question. All this having been heard, the case is either re-opened, or a former judgment is confirmed, at the option of the principal chief, who generally presides himself on such occasions. From this decision there is no appeal, except the party concerned be a member of the "great house," or family of the hereditary chieftains; in which case the appeal may be prosecuted through every tribe in Kafirland, until it reaches the head of Hintza's family, who is acknowledged the chief magistrate of the Amakosa tribes, and beyond whom they admit no jurisdiction.

In respect to their criminal proceedings, it is to be remarked that murder is not held as a crime punishable by death. The assassin is amerced in a fine, and if the cause of this lenity be inquired, the reply is generally that the people have already been made sorrowful by the loss of one of their number, and there is no reason why this should be increased by the death of a second; more especially as it would also be an

injury to the state, and so far weaken the power of his chief. The most heinous offence in the opinion of a Kafir is the crime of witchcraft, and under this plea are the most dreadful cruelties practised, and the grossest injustice exhibited. It is not a very unusual case that when an individual has had the misfortune to make him or herself obnoxious to a Kafir doctor, or has excited, by his property, the cupidity of an influential person, that he is marked down as a future victim to this horrid custom. When the plot is ripe for execution, and a suitable opportunity occurs, such as the illness of a person of rank, or any unusual mortality among the cattle, the party denounced is immediately seized by the ministers of vengeance, and led away in a state of indescribable horror to the spot where it is intended he shall undergo the dreadful ordeal. All this time the witch doctors, who are not unfrequently females, continue their frightful incantations, until the assembled multitude are wrought up to such a pitch of phrensied excitement as to lose entirely all self-control, and thus they are prepared to execute, without the slightest demur, the appalling demands which are from time to time muttered; and to inflict the most excruciating pangs upon the trembling culprit which cruelty ever devised, or which it is possible for diabolical malice either to contemplate or to suggest. In all this the object in view appears to be, not so much the idea of punishment for an offence committed, as an intense desire to extort from the accused a confession of guilt, to discover where the charm lies hid, and to unmask the accomplices in the guilty act. Protestations of innocence are alike perfectly futile, with the most pathetic appeals to the compassion of the ruthless tormentors, or appalling cries for mercy to the inexorable judges. The prisoner is first severely

beaten with sticks, and if this does not lead to the expected discovery or confession, he is next thrown violently on the ground, where he is extended on his back, with his hands and feet firmly bound to stakes driven down for the purpose. Whilst in this helpless situation a nest of the large bush ant—an insect particularly ferocious and venomous when thus disturbed and irritated—is broken in pieces and strewed over the naked body of the wretched sufferer, which is sprinkled with water. The pangs endured by this mode of torture is appalling, and generally extorts the most piercing cries and groans from the unhappy victim; and, in most cases, an assent to all the demands of his fiendish tormentors. When, however, this is not the case, or when his promises are not satisfactorily fulfilled, he is again seized on the instant and a new mode of torment resorted to, with the view of making him reveal some secret charm which they imagine he is in possession of. The usual mode of torture is by distending the wretch as before, and whilst in this helpless situation applying to the most sensitive parts of the body red-hot stones; under which exhausted and suffering nature soon sinks, unless such disclosures are made as procures a speedy respite from his dreadful sufferings. In the latter case some bone, or mass of hair, or piece of putrid flesh—most generally conveyed to the unfortunate victim by some friend or relative—is pretended to be found, and this is said to constitute the charm that has enabled him to bring disease or misfortune on his chief or kraal.

If the disclosure be satisfactory the victim may possibly escape with life; but his cattle are seized and confiscated, the greater part being added to the property of the chief, and he is turned upon the world a

maimed and wretched outcast. It is not unusual when a chief of rank dies, to enquire how many died with him ? meaning what number were put to death. On these occasions some three or four persons are selected, and against these some charge, to give a color to the proceedings, is brought, which usually ends in the murder of the parties, when poor ; and the confiscation of property, where rich.* The class of persons who stand forth as the accusers in such cases are peculiar to the Kafir people ; they are styled Doctors, professing in general, in addition to their occult skill, to possess a knowledge of medicine, and its application to the cure of disease. They are supposed to be skilled not only in divination, but also to have power over the elements of nature ; and hence when the country, as is often the case, is suffering from drought, their aid is sought for, and their absurd and often obscene and diabolical rites are called into exercise to produce rain, and thus revive the perishing herbage.

Like all barbarous people the Kafirs are lamentably superstitious ; and hence they have the most implicit dependance on these wretched impostors ; and though in causing rain by their incantations, and in many other respects their impositions are so frequently exposed,

* It is affirmed that on the death of the mother of Chaka, the great Zoola chief, a public mourning was held, which lasted for the space of two days, the people being assembled at the kraal of the chief to the number of 60 or 80,000 souls. Mr. Fynn, who was present, describes the scene as the most terrific which it is possible for the human mind to conceive. The immense multitude all engaged in rending the air with the most doleful shrieks, and discordant cries and lamentations ; whilst in the event of their ceasing to utter them, they were instantly butchered as guilty of a crime against the reigning tyrant. It is said that not less than six or seven thousand persons were destroyed on this occasion charged with no other offence than exhausted nature in the performance of this horrid rite, their brains being mercilessly dashed out amidst the surrounding throng. As a suitable *finale* to this dreadful tragedy, it is said that ten females were actually buried alive with the royal corpse ; whilst all who witnessed the funeral were obliged to remain on the spot for a whole year.

yet so credulous are they, and so infatuated in a belief of the infallibility of the wizard or witch doctor, that they will readily admit the most flimsy excuse as a sufficient plea for the failure. It was by the arts of one of these wretched impostors that the Kafirs were led to attack Graham's Town in the year 1819, as related in the first page of this Introduction. They were assured that the guns of the white men had been rendered powerless, and they were promised an easy victory and a rich reward. The individual who deluded his countrymen into this fatal belief was a man of rather extraordinary character, and evidently possessed those native talents which, had they been applied to a good purpose instead of being used in the practice of deception, might have raised him to honorable distinction amongst his fellows. As it is the character of this man has been spoken of very far beyond its merits: the skill and license of the poet have been called into requisition, to excite for his fate the public sympathy. Those who have given the history of this remarkable character* acknowledge the evils which he had been the means of bringing upon his countrymen; they likewise admit that the most deadly hatred existed between him and Gaika, then the ally of the colony; and hence humanity to the Kafirs, as well as the lives and property of the frontier colonists, demanded that so dangerous an instrument, when at our disposal, should not be again turned loose on society, but should be removed to a situation where he might be precluded from doing further mischief. Robben Island appeared to the Cape Government as the most suitable spot for his residence; but even here the same restless dispo-

* Vide Pringle's Sketches, page 428—438. The same version has been given *verbatim* in Mr. Kay's work.

sition, the same impatience of restraint, and the same aptitude for intrigue, displayed itself as when at freedom amongst his own countrymen. He perished on the coast in a desperate attempt to escape from the island to the opposite shore; a fate which may excite our pity, but with which the colonial government cannot be held justly chargeable. It is very easy to put forth a fine-spun theory upon this as upon other subjects. Magnanimity, and other fine-sounding phrases, have a very pretty effect at a distance, but what would have been said of the humanity of the Cape government—we say nothing of the policy—if, after securing the man who had been the cause of plunging the colonial frontier into a destructive war,—who had caused the loss of hundreds of lives,—if it had permitted this arch agitator to have been turned loose upon the colonists before the commotions caused by him had been hushed, and the frontier had been placed in a suitable posture of defence. Far too much has been made of the character of this man in order to heap odium on the colonial government. But the fact is that he was either a cunning, unprincipled, agitator, or an uncontrollable dangerous maniac; and hence the folly of expecting that such a man could be bound by any engagement, or that it would be safe to leave the inexperienced emigrants, who were then about to be located on the Kafir frontier, to his tender mercies.

The Kafir people are ever ripe for mischief, and have no need of the unnatural excitement of their “rain makers” to enter with spirit on the plunder of the colonists: their mode of living and their customs all conduce to this. They are eminently a pastoral people: their only wealth consists in their cattle, and the only employment of the men is taking care of

them. Cattle are the *currency* of the country, for although beads and buttons have of late become an article of traffic; yet, in all bargains of importance, cattle are paid or received by the parties concerned. Thus in procuring their wives, the inclination of the female is never for a moment consulted, the only concern is the ability of the suitor to pay the number of cattle demanded as the price of her hand by her parents; and as polygamy is the custom of the country, the number of females a Kafir possesses is only limited by his ability to pay the price of them. Cattle will likewise satisfy the demands of justice even for the commission of the highest crime; and thus the possessor of cattle, if he do not excite the ill will of the wizard or witch doctor and be denounced as a practitioner of the black art, or excite the cupidity of his chief, who will in that case find some plea—according to Kafir phraseology—“to eat him up,” has the highest means of gratification of which he has any notion.

Such being the case it need not occasion much surprise that the colonists should be kept in a continual state of excitement by the forays of these people on their flocks and herds. The Kafir has no perception of moral rectitude to deter him from the commission of plunder; he is an inveterate thief and bush ranger, and his disposition is in general bold and daring. Well-meaning persons, unacquainted with their true character, conclude, when they hear of the disorders on this frontier, of the patrols of the military, or the commandos of the farmers, that there must be some good cause at bottom for the restlessness of the natives; and they are ready enough to give credit to those false statements which have been put forth to the world of colonial encroachment or colonial

cruelty; whereas the fact is, the true cause of all their aggressions is the fine and numerous flocks and herds of the frontier grazier. It is almost impossible for a Kafir, constituted as his mind is, and with habits which pre-dispose him to engage in any desperate venture, to refrain from forays upon the property of the colonists; excited as he is by the facilities afforded to plunder by the nature of the country, and by which, ever since this has been a British colony, these people have been immense gainers. It may be confidently affirmed that there has never been a single misunderstanding between the colonists and Kafirs which has not originated in some aggression on the part of the latter on the property of the colonial farmers.

Under these circumstances what has been the course pursued? Has the plundered farmer or trader experienced any sympathy for his losses and ill treatment? the answer is, none whatever; on the contrary, he has been unhesitatingly charged with rapacity and cruelty, and he has been taunted with having grown *rich* by the plunder of his sable neighbours. To all such calumnies we give a bold and unequivocal denial, and the government of the country is imperatively called on to redeem the character of the inhabitants of the colonial frontier from the unmerited aspersion.

But we resume our subject, by remarking that the *military force* of Kaffraria consists in every male who has undergone the rite of circumcision. All are soldiers of the state without any exception; they are always armed, and are ready at a moment's warning to take the field and to confront an enemy. The Kafir requires no preparation; he seizes his long shield, cut from an ox hide—which is either at the back part of his own hut, or deposited with the head

man of the kraal—grasps his assagais, from which he is scarcely ever separated, and rushes forth at the sound of the *Klaba Umkosi* ! or war-whoop, directly to the point from whence the cry proceeds ; and, without asking for any information as to the cause of the summons, or caring for the justice of the quarrel, he plunges at once into the fray. He is content to learn this when hostilities have ceased, and he has more leisure to attend to a matter to him of such minor importance, as the justice or expediency of the warfare in which he is called upon to take a part. This, however, relates more to the petty quarrels among themselves, or with the adjacent tribes, than to any national war, which is never undertaken without due deliberation ; the chiefs and their counsellors hold frequent consultations ; and the operations are planned, and dispositions made, before striking a blow. A Kafir possesses in general great personal bravery, and he is withal active, enterprising, and endowed with great muscular power, which is brought to full maturity by his mode of living, his customary employment being the care of cattle, his amusements dancing and hunting. He has in general very little apprehension of death ; hence he will run the greatest risk to accomplish any favorite object, and even when immediate death appears inevitable, he will rarely betray any visible agitation, or indicate the slightest relaxation of the nervous system. Their tenacity of life is extraordinary. Even when wounded so severely that the power of volition might be considered impossible, the Kafir will travel a considerable distance, and he will often recover from injuries, which in Europe would be considered inevitably fatal. This is doubtless to be attributed to soundness of constitution, and which may be traced to the tem-

perate habits of these people, to their wholesome diet—sour milk being their principal article of food—to their freedom from care, and to their constantly inhaling the pure air of a mild and salubrious climate.

In their mode of fighting they have but little organization. They proceed to the scene of action without much order, and they engage an enemy just as inclination may prompt them; hence the most daring is the foremost and most conspicuous in the fight. At a distance of fifty or sixty yards they throw their assagais with considerable effect; but beyond that it may be considered a contemptible weapon, seldom hitting the object at which it is aimed. With their *keeries*—which are short sticks cut from heavy hard woods, and having a large round knob at one end—they can knock down a small animal at as great a distance as they can do execution with the assagai, and frequently succeed in maiming, in their hunting parties, animals of considerable size.

Like all barbarous nations, the females have allotted to them the most menial, as well as the most laborious, employments. Thus in addition to their household work, they have to till the ground, to sew their mats and rush baskets, and to attend to various matters, which belong exclusively to the men in civilized countries. They cultivate a considerable breadth of land, considering the rude implements which they have for the purpose, the principal being a wooden spade, formed like the blade of an oar, and in favorable seasons they raise, by their rude husbandry, large quantities of millet, (*holcus scr--ghum*,) maize or Indian corn, pumpkins, beans, and water-melons. The fencing of the land devolves upon the men. When, however, the crop is advanced towards maturity, the female often finds it

necessary, for its due preservation, to take up her abode in the midst of it; here she constructs for the time a temporary hut, and never quits her charge, day nor night, till the whole is safely harvested. The method of preserving their corn is remarkable, and consists in digging a large hole in the cattle kraal. The excavation is made in the form of a pyramid, the top or entrance being the apex, from whence it gradually widens to the bottom. The inside is plastered with sand and cow-dung, and the opening closed with a flat stone. Although corn preserved in this way does not germinate; yet it acquires a disagreeable musty or earthy flavor, particularly disagreeable to a stranger; but, with this exception, the corn in general use by them is a highly palatable and nutritious grain.

The men are passionately fond of hunting. When they engage in this they go out in large parties, generally of 20 or 30, with as many dogs. When arrived at the hunting ground, they spread themselves out, so as to form a long line in the form of a crescent, regulating their distances according to the nature of the country, and, with an assagai in one hand, they march forward, beating every bush with their keeries; and in this way a large breadth of country is soon swept, and every luckless animal, and very often birds, such as paauws (wild peacock,) pheasants, and partridges, which may happen to be within the range, generally become their prey.

In hunting the elephant they have some remarkably absurd and superstitious customs. When they attack this noble animal, the first assagai thrown is accompanied by the exclamation of "Taku inkosi!" (mercy captain!) together with a number of apologies delivered with great volubility, for the insult and

violence offered him. When the animal falls the long He!—He!—uttered when a man falls in battle, resounds from all sides of the forest; some individual is then appointed to perform their usual ceremony over the remains of the royal victim. The tail is taken off, and goes to the great chief, where it depends from a pole fixed at his kraal door; the extremity of the trunk is cut off and buried with great care; and finally an offering of beads of a blood-red color, formerly an ensignia of royalty, is then made; and when all this is done the parties consider that they have discharged a sacred obligation.

Should an elephant pass through a village and do damage, or should he receive damage, a sacrifice is offered, in order to appease the spirit of the offending or offended animal; and this is more especially observed, should a person receive any injury from him. The Kafirs can assign no reason for all this; but they agree in opinion that the elephant is entitled to the respect due to a chief; but notwithstanding he is held in so much veneration, still they do not hesitate to assail him for his teeth, which are well understood by the natives to be an article of considerable value. To dream of an elephant is held to be a fortunate omen, and that the dreamer is about to receive some extraordinary endowment, or that a matter of importance is about to be revealed to him.

They have no system of religion, no form of worship, and scarcely any idea of a supreme being. Among the more remote tribes they have in use the word or name UDALI, and which seems to have been handed down without any definite notion from time immemorial. But from careful and patient enquiry, made in different parts of the interior, it appears very

certain that this name signifies God the creator, and that it has this meaning exclusively. Among the frontier Kafirs the word *Utixo* is frequently used; but this is doubtless derived from the Hottentot word *Utikwe*. The usual Kafir substantive for maker or creator is *Umenzi*; but this is applicable to any one who makes or works, which is not the case with the word first mentioned, and which applies solely to a supreme power.

They appear also to have some indistinct notions respecting the immortality of the soul. This is apparent from their designating departed spirits by name, and from their occasionally offering sacrifices to them. The name given by the frontier tribes to signify a being of the invisible world, is *Umshologu*, and by the back tribes *Umnyanya*. Both these words have the same signification, namely, the spirits of departed friends; which they profess to believe are often sent to minister to them; and hence in great emergencies they frequently invoke their aid. Sometimes they fancy that such beings are the agents in dispensing prosperity to them; at other seasons as involving them in distress, difficulty, or ruin. Thus, a good crop of corn, success in their pastoral avocations, exemption from accident and sickness, is attributed to the good spirits; at other times, when circumstances are untoward, and they are impoverished or afflicted, it is because *Umshologu* is angry; and this is generally attributed by the witch doctors to the avarice of the sufferer, who is said to withhold from the guardian spirit of the family his customary portion of food; hence, if he have but a single cow, it must be slaughtered to appease his wrath: not that he himself is supposed actually to consume the food prepared on such occasions, but it is sufficient that the sacrifice be made, and that the parties assembled

regale themselves on the flesh of the animal thus offered ; whilst the bones are collected, and burnt as the portion claimed by the invisible power.

There are, however, seasons when oblations are offered to invisible spirits, of a different order from those of their departed friends, and which indeed seem to have reference to a supreme being. These rites are practised when lightning strikes a dwelling or kraal, or kills an inhabitant of the hamlet. At other times it is used as a national offering to procure rain. On both occasions the whole animal is entirely consumed by fire, whilst aromatic shrubs and woods are procured, and burnt with the sacrifice. This, however, being a ceremony less lucrative to the doctors than the former, and also affording less gratification to the appetite, they do not very often have recourse to it. On all these subjects the mind of a Kafir is deplorably dark ; all they can say is, that it is, and has been, from time immemorial, their custom ; and that which their forefathers have done, they must do also. With regard to the offering made to Umshologu or Imnyanya, they know nothing more than that these spirits demand such sacrifices ; but as to whether they inhabit earth, air, or sea, they admit that they are entirely ignorant. “The doctor alone,” say they, “is acquainted with their nature and intentions, and the knowledge obtained by him is by means of visions or dreams.”

Such was the moral darkness which overspread the Kafir country, when the christian missionary first had his attention directed to this benighted region ; and though in the long period which has elapsed since the devoted servant of God proclaimed the truths of christianity to this untutored race, and although but little comparatively has been effected, yet there is no

cause for despair. Pagan superstitions and national customs are not to be overturned or subverted in a day ; and hence, when all things are duly considered, it may perhaps rather afford matter of congratulation that so much has been effected, than of regret that so small a measure of success has attended their efforts.

Until 1799 the Kafir tribes were but little known to Europeans ; in that year, however, four missionaries, namely Messrs. Van der Kemp, Kicherer, Edmonds, and Edwards arrived at Cape Town under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, for the purpose of instructing and proclaiming the truths of the gospel amongst the heathen tribes living adjacent to the colonial boundary. We need no other testimony than their own to shew the spirit of the inhabitants of the colony in reference to this important and interesting work, at the period of their arrival : thus the missionary transactions of the day record that “ their errand was no sooner known than many with open arms received them, and expressed their readiness to forward the work in which they were engaged.”

It is not necessary to review the proceedings of all the persons named, as upon their arrival two were set apart for a mission to the Bushman, and two, viz. Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Edmond, to the Kafirs ; but we shall confine ourselves solely to the efforts of the latter, as it will be interesting to those not acquainted with the circumstances to learn the views formed of, and the means used, to effect this professed object.

It must, however, be borne in mind that at the time of their arrival the frontier districts presented a melancholy scene of anarchy and confusion. The colony had been but recently captured by the English, and the rude and prejudiced frontier farmers, attached to their father-land, and unable to understand the necessity

of, or to appreciate the motives which had led to, the cession of the colony to the British power, had foolishly and madly taken up arms against the new government; whilst the Kafirs, the Hottentots, and a number of turbulent and dangerous spirits, such as deserters from the army, had taken advantage of the existing commotions, and were plundering the deluded farmers, and laying waste the whole country.

On the 7th June, 1799, the missionaries named quitted Cape Town; and they speak every where on their journey of the good conduct and kindness of the Boers in the most glowing terms: "The bounty of the Dutch farmers to the missionaries," says the report, "deserves honorable mention." A meed of praise to which they may well be considered entitled, when we find that not only did they receive them with kindness, but that they supplied them with wagons, oxen, horses, and provisions, in abundance. "Every where," as it is remarked, "they received the welcome of angels, and were crowded round and heard with reverence, as apostles,—everywhere provided with teams of oxen, and loaded with presents."*

As the Dr. approached the colonial boundary he soon began to learn the character of the Kafir. At the Tarka he heard that they "had annoyed much Bruintjes Hoogte with plunderings and murders." On proceeding a little further he was informed of their having "killed two christians and a Hottentot; taken *fifty-two saddles*, one hundred horses, and *twenty-six great coats*." A little further he found "about forty wagons, with a great number of families, who had fled from their homes to escape the Modanki Kafirs.

*Vide Missionary Transactions, vol. 1, page 373.

Again, a day or two afterwards he “heard more bad news of people killed, and wagons and cattle seized by the Kafirs.” On the evening of the same day “the hostile Kafirs,” says the Doctor, “fell upon us, and drove away one hundred and thirty of Kreiger’s oxen.” On arriving at the farm of this man they found “the houses burnt to the ground, and the kraals and corn still on fire.”*

On the 20th September Dr. Van der Kemp had his first interview with Gaika, and it will be amusing to read, at this distance of time, his account of it. “After,” says he, “we had cut a way through the wood and filled up the river, we went on and arrived at Gaika’s cattle kraals, then the place of his residence, near the River T’Commi, (Chumie) which discharges itself into the Keiskamma. About a hundred Kafirs flocked together, and we enquired for king Gaika, but nobody answered. After we had waited for about ten minutes in suspense, the king approached in a majestic and solemn attitude, advancing slowly, attended on each side by one of his chief men. He was covered with a long robe of panther’s skins, and wore a diadem of copper and another of beads round his head; he had in his hand an iron keri, and his cheeks and lips were painted red. He stopped about twenty paces from us, and one of his captains then signified that it was the king.” After some further ceremony of a puerile character, the Doctor opened his business by stating, that “his object was to instruct him and his people in matters which could make them happy in this life and after death; that he only asked him leave to settle himself in his land, expecting his friendship, protection, and liberty to return to his own country when he should judge it expedient.”

*Vide Missionary Transactions, vol. 1, page 376—392, *et passim*.

To this Gaika returned for answer, that he had come at a very unfavorable period, that all the country was in confusion. "Your people," said he, "look upon me as a great man, but I am not able to entertain you as you ought to be entertained. You look for safety and rest, but I can myself find no safety or resting place, being in perpetual danger on account of my enemies; nor can I protect you, as I cannot protect myself." He repeated that he did not advise them to stay in his country, as not calculated for their manner of living. He gave them, however, leave to unyoke their oxen, and to pitch their tents.

These particulars are interesting, inasmuch as this was the first christian mission which ever entered Kafirland; and having thus traced it to that period when permission was granted to the missionary to set up his tent, we may proceed to enquire the measure of success which has attended missionary labours during the 35 years which have since elapsed, and in doing so we think that a very sufficient answer will be given to the opinion of a military officer in his examination lately before a Committee of the House of Commons, that "the missionaries have not improved the character of the Kafirs in the least."

On the 23d of October, 1799, Dr. Van der Kemp writes, that he had removed from his first station and had pitched his tent near the place which he had chosen for his house, and of which he gives the following description:—"Before the house we had a beautiful field of grass, in the middle of an amphitheatre of high mountains inhabited by numbers of Kafirs, divided into different kraals, eleven of which were very near us. Round the foot of the mountain the river Guakoeby ran, affording us most excellent water. The ascent of the mountains was covered by

a thick wood of timber of every kind ; some of the trees were above one hundred feet high. Above this wood, towards the top of the mountain, were meadows of a vast extent, and of a beautiful verdure, and the top itself was covered with inaccessible woods." After thus describing the spot whereon the first christian mission was established in Kaffraria, the venerable Doctor expresses his "great hopes that this place, by its concentric arches, may encompass and cherish the first seeds of a church amongst that people." It is also worthy of note how invariably the marks of civilization follow the footsteps of the missionary ; thus Dr. V. no sooner had placed himself on this spot than we find him engaged in reclaiming the unprofitable waste around him :—"this day," says he, "I sowed lettuce and carrots, and planted *red currants* and potatoes." Two days afterwards we find him planting apricots and peaches, and the week following he observes, "I sowed calabashes, melons, cucumbers and pumpkins, and constructed an oven."

In a former part of this work we have given our opinion of the character of Dr. Van der Kemp, and a perusal of his journal on this the first mission to the Kafirs, fully confirms us in its entire correctness. Still, while we lament his mistakes, we are struck with admiration at the courage and entire self-devotion of this venerable man to the cause in which he had engaged,—a devotion which no difficulties could subdue, which no privation or suffering could render less fervent or inactive. He seems to have been wretchedly equipped for so serious an undertaking ; and hence, with that enthusiasm which marked his character through life, to have thrown himself both for protection and subsistence amongst the barbarous natives. On the 6th Dec. he writes, "Thomas caught

a *serpent* four feet long; this he and I eat boiled, and found it an excellent dish; it tasted like a skate, though the eating of it was an abomination to the Kafirs and Hottentots.* On the 12th December he remarks, after having made a journey to the coast, "towards evening we arrived home, having my head and feet sorely wounded by thorn bushes and stones, as I had no hat, nor shoes, nor stockings." At this period he incidentally notices the price of cattle, observing that he "could readily purchase of the Kafirs an ox for fifty, or a milch cow for thirty buttons." At the present day the value of cattle in Kafirland is nearly as high as within the colony.

The Doctor had not been long amongst the Kafirs before he discovered that he was not considered as a free agent; thus when Mr. Maynier, who had been deputed by the government to enter into some political engagement with Gaika, arrived about this period in Kaffraria, and wished to confer with the Doctor, the conference was forbidden, though subsequently it was permitted as a special act of favor: but when, the next day, he requested leave to accompany Mr. M. to Graaff-Reinet, Gaika "was so far from giving his consent to it that he gave him no answer at all, but treated with contempt his proposal." On the 17th December we have an account of the first *school* ever established in Kaffraria. "I began," says the Doctor, "to keep, twice a day, a reading and writing school in the Kafir and Dutch languages, with eleven pupils

*This is another instance of those imprudencies which so greatly detracted from the Doctor's usefulness. Common sense and discretion might have taught him the necessity of endeavouring to gain the esteem and respect of the Kafirs and Hottentots, and of abstaining from that which was held by them, and by his own countrymen too, as "an abomination." It may also be inquired how this, except on the plea of necessity, accords with the Apostolic injunction,— "It is good not to eat flesh, neither to drink wine, nor to do any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended or made weak." Rom. xiv; 21.

of different nations." On the 28th he writes, "I had now thirteen young people in my school, and set apart an hour to instruct them in the principles of christianity." Early in the following year, 1800, the Doctor remarks, "In place of introducing a scientific system of divinity, I traced out the first lines of an historical system of the ways of God with mankind, derived from scripture; I resolved this system into easy questions, to which I added the place of scripture containing the answers. I introduced a kind of catechizing meeting, to be kept twice a week." On the 20th January we have noted the commencement of the first mission-house ever erected in Kaffraria; its dimensions were to be twenty-four feet long and nine wide, divided into two rooms. Fourteen days afterwards this building was finished, on which occasion a missionary prayer-meeting was held in it.

It appears to have been fortunate for the Doctor that when he was refused the permission of Gaika to depart the country, he did not resolve to quit without it. On the 13th February he notices that a quandom acquaintance of his, a disaffected farmer, named J. Bota, who was attempting to retrace his steps to the colony, was detained and ordered to return to Gaika's kraal, and there to unyoke his oxen; this he complied with. A Kafir then desired him to lend him his knife, and when he had given it some Kafirs started up from behind the bushes and threw their assagais at him; the first pierced his side, and was drawn out by his wife, who supported him in her arms; the second he pulled out himself, and Mrs. Bota continued to pull out the rest, until he sunk down and expired; the wagon was plundered and burnt, and his cattle brought to Gaika.*

*Vide Missionary Transactions, vol. 1, page 414. Thus these wretches

The preservation of the Doctor from the treachery of this chief appears to be little less than a miracle. On the 9th May Gaika visited him, accompanied by fifty of his men, Kafirs and Hottentots, each armed with a kerrie or assagai. It seems that in addition to these men he had also concealed in the woods around two hundred more; but though for some cause he was led to defer the perpetration of his design, yet of his guilty intention there could be no doubt, as one of his captains upbraided him openly with his treacherous conduct. A watchful Providence warded off the fatal blow, and though Dr. V. was still subject to the greatest trials and privations, yet no violence was suffered to come near his dwelling. On the 20th June he writes, "Last night all our servants but one ran away, so that I lost all my people except a Kafir girl, a Tambookie boy, a Hottentot woman and child, and the children of Buys. Shortly afterwards he was prohibited by the chief from instructing the people; and finding such determined opposition made to the spread of the gospel, and that his life was placed in great jeopardy, he at length, after removing several times from one station to another, prepared to quit the country. Previous, however, to his putting this design in execution, he baptized three persons—a Hottentot woman named Sarah and her two children—in the Keiskamma River, being the first time of administering that ordinance in the Kafir country. Whilst Dr. V. resided with these people he learned that three Englishmen had been wrecked on the coast; and he writes that two of them had been killed by Umlao and some of Gaika's

render a man who had thrown himself on their protection, perfectly defenceless, and then wantonly butcher him in cold blood. Still, according to Mr. Pringle they are only *barbarians*, not *savages*!

men, and that the third, after being stripped of his clothes, made his escape, when one of the Kafirs threw a club after him which knocked him down; after which they beat him till they thought they had dispatched him, but when about to cut his throat he sprung up, threw himself into the river adjacent, and succeeded in reaching the opposite shore.

About the beginning of the next year, 1801, he commenced his journey towards the Kafir frontier, travelling N. W. and skirting the Bushman country, by which people he was several times attacked. His companions consisted of as strange an assemblage of persons as was perhaps ever collected together; amongst others he enumerates four colonists, two Dutch women, thirteen bastard children, ten Hottentots, four Kafirs, one Tambookie, five English deserters, one German deserter, and one slave. They had with them three wagons and a cart, together with three hundred head of cattle, some goats and sheep, and about twenty-five horses. On the 14th May the Doctor arrived at Graaff-Reinet, where he found Messrs. Read and Van der Lingen, who had been sent out to assist him in his arduous labors.

Towards the close of that year Dr. V., in company with Mr. Read, returned to the Kafir country, for the ostensible purpose of accompanying Gaika to Graaff-Reinet, he having expressed a willingness to proceed there, provided the missionary was sent to serve as his conductor. On this journey the travellers again speak of the deplorable condition of the country by excesses of the Kafirs. Thus on reaching the farm of Mr. Naude it is observed, "We found these families much dejected on account of the excesses committed by the Modanki Kafirs, and determined to leave the country." The next day they remark, "All

the country between Mr. Naude's house and the Great Fish River was deserted, and turned into a wilderness. The succeeding day they crossed the Little Fish River, and turned east through the "Swager's hoek," where they found all the farms in the country desolated, and no living soul in them. Shortly after this the Doctor and his companion reached the residence of Gaika, but though he had sent for them, he with that fickleness for which he was always distinguished, declined to undertake the journey, and the Doctor returned to the colony without meeting with any adventure that is worthy of narrating.

It was not long after this that the colony again reverted to the Dutch, and accordingly, in 1803, we find General Janssens visiting the eastern frontier in person, with the view of allaying the irritation then manifest, and of enquiring into the cause of the prevalent discontent. At this time the state of the frontier colonists is depicted in the following striking manner:—"Hundreds of families," says the writer, "wandered about without a home, living scantily upon the smallest remains of cattle which they had been able to save from the hands of their invaders, sometimes seeking a shelter amongst their friends who had been spared, sometimes living under tents in a distant, solitary, but fertile country." During this journey the General held a conference with Gaika, who, as was customary, promised every thing but fulfilled nothing. When reproached with the calamities which had befallen the colonists by the plunders and murders of his countrymen, he merely remarked that it was not his fault; that these enormities had been committed by those whom he could not restrain,

and denied that he had himself shared in their ill-gotten booty.*

No further effort to civilize the Kafirs appears to have been made from the time Dr. Van der Kemp quitted the country in 1801 until the year 1816, when a second attempt was made by the agents of the London Missionary Society. On the 16th April of that year Messrs. Read and Williams, accompanied by Jan Tzatzoe, the son of a petty chief who had for some time been under the instruction of Dr. Van der Kemp at Bethelsdorp, crossed the colonial boundary, and three days afterwards arrived at the kraal of the notorious Makanna, with whose eccentricities, peculiar notions, and zeal, the travellers appear to have been greatly taken. He had evidently acquired some knowledge of the theory of the christian religion, but he had blended therewith many crude and ridiculous notions of his own, for the purpose of giving such a coloring to the whole system as was calculated to fix the attention, and give him influence over the minds, of his countrymen. "I had some conversation with him," observes Mr. Read, "and he seemed to have a general knowledge of the fall of Adam, the deluge, the motion of the earth, the crucifixion of Christ, eternal punishment, &c., but was deficient in real knowledge of himself and of the gospel. He may be very useful or very injurious; it is doubtful whether he is a changed man or not, he seems to have been a peculiar person from a child. When a boy he was amongst the farmers, and speaks a little Dutch. It is evident that he has learned much of what he knows from Mr. Van der Lingen, and seems to have a good memory."

*Vide Lichtenstein's Travels, page 302 and 323.

After considerable discussion with some of the Kafir chiefs, and particularly with Gaika, it was finally resolved that the missionary station should be formed on the Kat River, a little above the site on which Fort Beaufort now stands. Before quitting the country the missionaries report that they told Gaika, "they were sorry to hear that the Kafirs were *constantly* going into the colony, and *often*, to get a flock of cattle, killed the herdsman." Again it is observed,— "We were astonished to see so few cattle in Kaffraria, and were at a loss to know how a large kraal could subsist; and considering their customs and manner of living, we did not much wonder at *their propensity to stealing*. They are accustomed to live on animal food, and it would *be impossible they could live long on their own*.*

Within a few months after this period Mr. Williams with his family took up his residence on the spot selected for the missionary station; and here he immediately commenced with an ardor which has rarely been surpassed, to build himself a habitation, to cultivate a garden and corn field, and to lead out the waters of the river for the purpose of irrigation. Mrs. Williams appears also to have been indefatigable in her efforts to instruct the female children; and at the end of two years every thing around appeared to wear a cheerful aspect. Many of the scholars had learned the alphabet, others could spell easy words, whilst their demeanour during Divine service was highly exemplary. But the exertions which all this required,

*Vide Missionary Register for 1816, page 478—479. These remarks of Mr. Read fully bear out our assertion that the Kafirs of the present day, residing near the colony, are much richer than formerly. At the time of the late savage irruption the whole of the Kafir country along our border teemed with the goats, horses, and cattle of the natives, and presented a very different scene to that drawn by Mr. Read.

and the constant anxiety of mind which Mr. Williams endured was too much for his physical powers, and on the 23d August, 1818, he sunk under his labors; and his grave now marks the spot on which he had so assiduously exerted himself to raise the Kafirs from their barbarous state. His widow and two children were rescued by the kindness of Mr. Hart, of Somerset, from the lonely, distressing, situation in which they had been left, and the institution was abandoned shortly after, and speedily went to decay.

It was soon after this event that Gaika and T'Slambie, his uncle, were engaged in deadly hostilities, and on the defeat of the former the people of the institution, together with a number of his adherents, retreated northward to the sources of the Kaga,* where, and along the banks of the Koonap, they took up a position in considerable force. On the abandonment of the station some stragglers from Jaluhsa's clan first plundered the premises of the iron work, and then fired and destroyed them. Such was the disturbed state of Kafirland at this period that the colonial government did not consider it prudent to permit any missionary to pass into the country except under the control, and guided by the instructions of the existing administration. Accordingly, in 1820, Mr. Brownlee received an official appointment as government agent, and on the 6th of June of that year he entered Kafirland in that character.

It will be unnecessary to dwell upon the views entertained by government at this period, the subject having already been brought to the notice of the reader in the first part of this Introduction, where, at page 33, they will find in the instructions issued to

*Since ceded by the colonial government to the Honorable Captain Stockenström, late Commissioner-General for the Eastern Province.

Mr. Brownlee the benevolent tone and spirit which actuated the authorities in reference to mission work and the civilization of the Kafir tribes. The station occupied by Mr. B. at this time was on the Chumie, where he endeavoured to collect around him all those who formerly resided on the Kat River under Mr. Williams.

Here he labored alone until the following year, when he was joined by Messrs. Thomson and Bennie, who had been sent out by the directors of the Glasgow Missionary Society. With this additional help the work of improvement appears to have made considerable advances ; by a proper division of time and labour the three missionaries were enabled to travel or itinerate amongst the surrounding kraals, and at the same time attend to the improvements of the station, and conduct a native school for children of both sexes. Mr. Bennie from his first arrival applied himself with considerable assiduity to the study of the Kafir language, and to an acquaintance with the peculiar habits and customs of the people. In December, 1823, the Rev. J. Ross joined them, having in his possession a small *Ruthven* printing press, together with an assortment of types and other printing materials ; and with these the missionaries commenced with great industry to print for the school some elementary books and lessons in the native tongue. Mr. Thomson, who had been appointed as the coadjutor of Mr. Brownlee, was likewise provided by the colonial government with a good supply of agricultural implements for the use of the natives ; and thus it will be seen that as far as human foresight could provide, every thing was done calculated to improve and soften the character of the native hordes.

In 1824 another station was founded on the Incehra,

a small stream which falls into the Chumie River, and to this Messrs. Ross and Bennie were appointed. The chiefs Eno and Botma had requested that this establishment might be formed there, and for some time after its establishment their people appeared very attentive to the truths taught them. At this place, which was named *Lovedale*, after Dr. Love, Secretary to the Glasgow Missionary Society, were printed a spelling book, Brown's small catechism, a small collection of hymns, and the decalogue, creed, and Lord's Prayer. It was here that Mr. Bennie collected an excellent and a copious vocabulary of the Kafir language. On both these stations the work of civilization and of evangelization appeared to be gradually going forward; a few of the natives had been baptised into the christian faith, and about one hundred children were under a course of instruction in the schools. In 1826 a new church, covering an area of 1,000 square feet, was erected at the Chumie, and about the same time Mr. Brownlee relinquished his engagement with the government, and removed from the Chumie to a new station, the Buffalo, (now King William's Town) where, assisted by the native chief, Jan Tzatzoe, he resumed his labours in connection with the London Missionary Society.

In the following year Messrs. Chalmers, Weir, and MacDiermid arrived in Kafirland, the first being ordained as missionary, and the two latter as missionary artisans. This additional assistance had been afforded in pursuance of a recommendation to that effect from the resident missionaries, who had repeatedly suggested the expediency of uniting with the missionary work a few men who might, while they officiated as elders, make themselves useful as mechanics; very properly concluding that to a people just emerging from bar-

barism a knowledge of a few useful arts would be of great importance. Soon after this period Messrs. Ross and MacDiermid were appointed to commence a new station at the source of the Kat River, within the ceded territory, where Macomo and his people then dwelt by the sufferance of the colonial government, and on the express condition of good behaviour. Here the missionaries built two small houses for their own residence, led out the water for irrigation, and had made considerable progress in a third building intended for a church, when Macomo, for his outrageous conduct within the colony, and his dishonest and cruel treatment of the Tambookies under Powana and Gelela, was expelled the country, which he had only been permitted to occupy during good behaviour, and forced to retire to the opposite side of the mountain range.

From this spot, which had been named *Balfour*, Mr. Ross removed to the Buffalo River, where he commenced a new station, whilst Mr. MacDiermid proceeded with the same view to the Keiskamma, at which place he was subsequently joined by Mr. Laing. In the mean time Mr. Thomson removed from the Chumie to the Kat River, which, after the expulsion of Macomo, had been located by Hottentots and other free colored persons from the colony. At the Chumie the printing press was still in active operation, under the superintendence of Mr. Chalmers; and in addition to the works formerly mentioned were now executed a translation of the Assembly Catechism, and of the 1st epistle of St. John.

In December, 1834, when the Kafirs so unexpectedly rose upon their benefactors and entered the colony, there were connected with the Glasgow Society—

AT THE CHUMIE.

Kafir communicants,	16
Candidates for baptism,	5
Average amount of the congregation on Lord's Day,	250
Do. on week days,	94
Attending school,	50

AT LOVEDALE.

Communicants,	13
Candidates for baptism,	3
Congregation on Lord's Day,	80
Week days,	25
Attending school,	20

AT BURN'S HILL.

Communicants,	5
Candidates for baptism,	2
Congregation on Lord's Day,	80
Week days.	20

At Perrie nearly the same as Burn's Hill.

Such were the exertions and progress of the Glasgow and London Missionary Societies from their first passing into the Kafir territory until their expulsion by the Kafir tribes.* With respect, however, to the introduction amongst them of the mechanical arts, the experiment by no means answered the expectations which had been previously formed on the subject. The Kafir considers every kind of labor unmanly, and hence such employment is always imposed upon the female. This will make it extremely difficult to induce the Kafir of the present day to adopt habits of industry; but still the rising generation may,

*The following is the estimated amount of the loss sustained by the Glasgow Missionary Society on this occasion :—

Private loss of Missionaries,	£ 740
Losses of the Society, including buildings, &c.	1,560
	2,300

by careful management, be saved from the demoralizing consequences of idleness; and it is quite clear that benevolence and sound policy alike demand our most careful attention to this very interesting and important point.

Having thus traced the operations of the London and Glasgow missionaries in Kafirland, from the period of their first crossing the colonial boundary, until their expulsion in 1835, we must now revert to the year 1823, for the purpose of reviewing the proceedings of the Wesleyan mission in the same field of labour.

To most of our readers it will be known, that the individual who first engaged in this good work was the Rev. W. Shaw, of whom it may be truly said, that there have been few who have entered upon so difficult and important an undertaking with higher qualifications for its efficient discharge. He had quitted the shores of England in 1820, not in the ostensible character of a missionary, but as the minister of a large party of emigrants, who have since founded the village of *Salem*. Possessing, however, a truly missionary and catholic spirit, he could not sit quietly content within the colonial boundary, whilst so many were "perishing for lack of knowledge" beyond it. Hence, after spending a few years engaged in the most benevolent exertions to benefit the colonists, and with immense advantage to the British settlers, and particularly of that body with which he was more immediately connected, he resolved at every hazard to pass into the Kafir country, and to proclaim "the glad tidings of great joy" to that restless and benighted people.

At this period the country was by no means in a

tranquil state. Many robberies had been committed on the colonists by the Kafirs inhabiting that part of the country to which he was about to proceed ; and it was considered by many of his friends that, in adventuring amongst them, he was running upon certain destruction. On the 13th November, 1823, he quitted Graham's Town, accompanied by Mr. Shepstone, (now the resident missionary with the tribe of Pato, Kama, and Cobus,) and their respective families. After bidding adieu to those friends who had accompanied them part of the journey, he had leisure to indulge in reflections on the prospect before him. "I saw," observes he, "great and serious difficulties ; the greater part of our friends regarded us as rashly throwing away our lives, in going among a people, who they seemed to fear would certainly murder us. These people had within the last six days stolen many cattle from the colonists. A commando of soldiers was expected to be sent into the country immediately to punish them, all which appeared to portend danger and difficulty to us." On the 19th Nov. the party entered Kafirland at the Chumie, and were received by Messrs. Thomson and Bennie in the most affectionate and friendly manner. On the 1st. Dec., he quitted this station, and on the 5th arrived at the spot since known as "*Wesleyville*." At this period the country was destitute of any road for a wheel carriage ; and Mr. Shaw observes,—“We had to make a road for the wagons from Chumie to this place, in doing which many a tree fell before the hatchets of the Kafirs, who accompanied us, and who amounted to between twenty or thirty in number.”

The account given of their reception by the people among whom they intended to reside, is extremely interesting, and will be referred to, at the present

day, with great interest. "We were received," says Mr. S., "by Pato and his brothers, Congo and Kama, with a great number of their people, as though we had been making a triumphal entry. All was bustle, and, as is usual where many wild untutored people are assembled together, all was noise and clamour. The next day Pato and his brothers, with a number of their council and inferior captains, assembled; a variety of subjects were discussed, connected with my intentions and purposed mode of procedure, &c., and all appeared well pleased. They said some flattering things in the true Indian style; among others, the chiefs said—"From henceforth I should be their father, and they would make of me, as the interpreter rendered it, 'a bush of defence from wind and rain, meaning I should be their defence in an evil day.'"

In October, 1825, a second mission station, designated *Mount Coke*, was established in the tribe of T'Slambie,—amongst those very people who, under the influence of their prophet Makanna, made the combined attack on the military head-quarters at Graham's Town, as related in the first page of this introduction. Here a most delightful establishment was formed, under circumstances which appeared to augur well both for its utility and permanency. Within a year after its formation the chief Dushanie, who had for many years previously been engaged in daring inroads upon the colonists, was induced to make a journey to Graham's Town, in the character of a visitor, and Mr. Kay, the founder of the institution, informs us that "*the generous reception he met with from all classes there*, evidently induced a strong attachment to the British character, and a high sense of the benefits of civilization."

In May, 1827, a third station was established in Kafirland by the Rev. W. J. Shrewsbury. This was situated in Hintza's country, and was named *Butterworth*. It is recorded by Mr. S. that while in treaty with the chief for permission to commence this station, "Major Dundas, then landdrost of Albany, happened to make a visit to him, with the object of promoting a good understanding and friendship between the colonists and the Kafirs,—the colonial government seeming desirous of using all its influence and power in advancing pacific measures, and encouraging every undertaking that was calculated to introduce civilized habits amongst the heathen." The writer concludes to attributing the successful result of the pending negotiation to a remark dropped by the Major, to the effect—"That it would be greatly to the advantage of the chief to have a missionary settled with him, as, in the event of his being unjustly accused of cattle stealing, he could write and vindicate him." This appears to have decided Hintza, as on the departure of the landdrost, he observed to him—"I am ready to have a missionary; he has nothing to do but come: there is a place where he may build and live."

On the 31st Oct. 1829, Mr. Shrewsbury writes,—
"We have this week finished ploughing an extensive piece of ground in front of the village. English wheat has been sown for the first time in this part of Kafirland; and it is the opinion of several persons skilled in agriculture that it will thrive at Butterworth, though it generally fails in the colony." On the 20th December he observes,—and we make the extract as a proof of that moral courage, and of that inflexible opposition to immorality, injustice and cruelty which were ever such conspicuous traits in the

character of this truly devoted, amiable, and exemplary missionary—"This evening I went and preached at Hintza's own kraal, being filled with grief and indignation at the injustice and wickedness that are frequently perpetrated in the land with the direct sanction of the rulers of the people. In the last week a poor Fingo, of industrious habits, who had acquired a few cattle and cultivated a large piece of land, was accused by his envious neighbour of the crime of bewitching his herd and killing his calves. The poor man denied the accusation in vain; the accuser put him to death, and his wife and his son seized on all his property. Hintza then sent to receive the cattle, and when the poor man's corn is ripe will reap that also, and allowed the perpetrator of the murder to remain at his kraal with perfect impunity. When I reached Hintza's place a chieftain, who is foremost in deeds of darkness, rose to salute me; but I repelled him with warmth, saying "stand off thou man of blood," and he slunk away behind the rest of the chieftains, many of whom were assembled on account of Hintza's sickness, without uttering a word. I then collected them together and preached from these words,—“What hast thou done? For the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.” They heard with attention, and when I afterwards invited discussion, not one undertook to justify those evil deeds, nor to state any thing more than such was the custom of the Kafir nation. Having warned the chief deeply to repent of such wickedness, and instantly to use his power to abolish such iniquitous practices, *lest God should speedily take him away from the face of the earth, and thus visit innocent blood upon him*, I returned to my habitation.”

About the middle of the year 1829, another station,

called *Morley*, was formed among the scattered tribes under Depa. Some discussion had taken place between the chief and one of his family, as to the site of this mission. The latter contended that, as Quma (their European ancestor) was first espied by *his* friends when cast on shore, was married to one of his nearest relatives, returned to her care in her old age, and was finally buried in their hamlet—and that as the mission must be regarded as springing out of her ashes—the teacher's habitation ought to stand by her grave." To this the other responded—"The institution must be mine, seeing *I* first called the *Umfundis*, and he comes at my request." This dispute was, however, amicably adjusted, and soon afterwards Mr. Shepstone, who commenced this station, gives the following description of its localities:—"The place fixed upon for its site is on the northern bank of the Um-tata River, which takes its rise in the mountains above; in the fastnesses of which the British troops engaged those marauders (under Matiwana) who, according to their own account, had been living by war and plunder above twenty years."

No station was commenced under circumstances more promising or interesting, and yet none was attended with more fatal disasters. Thus, on the 7th of June, Mr. Shepstone writes—"To-day how delightful it is to see the people bursting forth by scores from the forests, by which this place is surrounded, to attend Divine service; while I read the ten commandments in their own language there was great attention, whilst all of them lifted up their voices as the voice of one man in that fine response of our church, (translated into the Kafir tongue by Mr. W. Shaw,) "Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law." About ten days

after this, and only three weeks from the commencement of the mission, an excellent young man, associated with the missionary as assistant and school master, who had gone to the adjacent forest to fell timber required for the erection of the mission premises, was killed by the fall of the first tree. And it was not long afterwards, and just as the main difficulties appeared to be surmounted, that the neighbouring clans were thrown into commotion by a furious attack of the Amaquabi, under the ferocious Quatoo, (the murderer of Farewell, Thackwray, and Walker). In their progress the whole country was laid waste, and the mission property destroyed by the fire-brand of the marauders. While these excesses were being committed, the missionary and his family had sought refuge in the neighbouring woods, and they subsequently, guided and protected by the good hand of providence, were enabled to fall back upon the Tambookie country. Here they resided for some time without any other shelter than that afforded by their wagons; besides which they were in daily expectation of attack from the hostile barbarians. Notwithstanding these untoward and distressing events the mission was re-commenced on a new site in April 1830, and had arrived at a state of great prosperity, when it was again abandoned, in consequence of the late irruption of the Kafirs within the colony.

Early in the month of June an important mission was founded in the Tambookie country by the Rev. R. Haddy. The site chosen for this institution, and which has been named "*Clarkebury*," is described as particularly fine, both as regards the features of the country, and its local advantages. About two months after the commencement of this mission Vu-

sani, the great chief of the Tambookies, died, and Mr. Haddy, who was present at the funeral, gives an account of the ceremony of interment, from which we make the following extract:—"Four or five men," says he, "were selected to bear him to the grave, which was a small hole about three feet deep, and sufficiently large to contain the body in the position in which the Kafirs sit, dug very near the hedge of the cattle kraal on the outside. These men have also to take care of the grave, which they will have to do, unless driven away by the enemy, for some years. They will not be allowed to go off the place, not even to go to their wives and families; and whatever they may be guilty of, none dare punish them. The grave will be enclosed by a sort of fence forming a kraal, into which will be put every night a certain number of cattle selected for the purpose, which will never be slaughtered. Instead of bringing the body out of the hut by the door, a place was broken in the side of it for that purpose, which was done by one or two of the chief's wives. He was carried to the grave in the karosses he wore when alive. When arrived at the grave he was laid by its side, and first one and then another of the men, appointed to bury him, took an assagai and cut off some part of his hair. His ornaments, and the little furniture he possessed, were put into the grave with him. Before the body was deposited in the grave, they washed it by dipping a handful of leaves in a bason of water, and gently rubbing it over the different parts thereof. When the mortal remains of the chief had been committed to the ground, the captains and all arose, and moved a little nearer the grave, and standing all together, about the distance of six or eight yards from it, took their leave of him

by saying simultaneously "chief look upon us;" they then retired."

Vusani was succeeded by his brother Vadanna, who acts as regent for Vusani's son. From the commencement of the mission, this chief has manifested the most friendly regard for its success, and has ever been well-affected towards the British cause. The station, though abandoned, has been carefully preserved, the buildings, by order of the chief, have been constantly guarded, both against thieves and injury by cattle, and the mission will doubtless be resumed at an early opportunity.

A few months subsequent to the establishment of this station, a sixth mission, situated in the country of the Amapondas, about four miles from Faku's great place, was founded by the Rev. W. B. Boyce, who writes, on the 29th Nov., 1830,—“On Wednesday Faku, accompanied by about fifty of his subordinate captains, paid his first visit to the station. This is equivalent to a formal recognition of it as his school, under his protection; and we may now consider ourselves as by law established.” At the time of entering upon this mission the Amapondas were in great distress; and it is remarked that many hundreds of the people were living in the bushes on roots, without any fixed habitation, and almost driven to desperation from extreme want. Notwithstanding this gloomy state of affairs at the commencement, this station has been eminently successful. An excellent school has been formed, containing from two to three hundred children, and by the zealous exertions of the missionaries, the peace of the country has in several instances been preserved; whilst Faku and his people, amidst all

the late commotions, have continued on terms of unimpeachable amity with the colony up to the present moment. This is the only station amongst the several tribes, that was not of necessity abandoned, during the recent disturbances. Here the work of improvement has steadily continued in operation, and there is good reasons for hoping that, from its important position with relation to the neighbouring tribes, and the capabilities of the country, it will eventually become of vast importance to this section of Southern Africa.

During the twelve years that the Wesleyan missionaries have resided in this country, a large amount of labour has been performed by them. The most formidable difficulties have been met and overcome, and it is not too much to say, that the Kafirs of Southern Africa must ever look up to them as the instrument, in the hands of God, of clearing away many of those obstructions which seemed to present an insuperable bar to future improvement. One of the greatest of these was doubtless that of having to address a people whose language had not been reduced to a written standard, of the peculiarities and analogies of which they were utterly ignorant, and which, therefore, it was necessary to discover, before they could rationally expect to make any deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the people amongst whom they were called to labour. In surmounting this difficulty the Wesleyan missionaries have been eminently successful. The intricacies of the language have been completely unravelled; and a grammar has been formed and published by Mr. Boyce, which will render the study of the language comparatively easy, whilst it will ever remain a monument of the industry and philo-

logical acumen of its author. From this gentleman we have obtained much information respecting the several dialects of Southern Africa, and which we shall insert in this place, as being perfectly relevant to the topic before our readers :—

“Our knowledge,” says his memorandum before us, “of the languagess of South Africa is very limited and imperfect, which is much to be regretted, as a comparison of the vocabularies and grammatical constructions of the various dialects would throw considerable light on the origin and migrations of the tribes by which they are spoken. An interesting field of enquiry invites the attention of philological students, especially missionaries, to whom such enquiries are of the utmost importance. We may hope in a few years to ascertain the analogies and dissimilarities of the principal languages spoken south of the line, including the Portuguese possessions in Congo Loango, &c. on the west coast, and Sofala, the Rio Senna, &c. on the east coast. In the present state of our information it appears probable that all the languages of South Africa may be classed under two general divisions or families.

“The first and most ancient, which was probably that spoken by the very first inhabitants who found their way to this extremity of the globe, comprehends the dialects spoken by the Namacquas, Bushmen, Korannas and Hottentots; these dialects—all of which, though differing from each other, are radically the same—were once spoken throughout all South Africa as far as the Kei River; but now, within the old colonial border, Dutch has almost entirely supplanted them; and beyond the old border to the Kei—the Kafirs having conquered that country from the Hottentot tribes—no trace of the Hottentot language remains, unless it be that the Kafirs have adopted the disagreeable

clicks from their Hottentot predecessors, along with various words now naturalized in the Kafir language. Along the northern frontier of the colony the Namacqua, Koranna and Bushmen dialects are yet spoken by a numerous yet scattered population. These dialects are entirely different in their grammatical construction from the Kafir language; they abound in those peculiar and unpronounceable sounds called *clicks*, and from their harshness, and the limited nature of their vocabularies, appear to be barriers in the way of religion and mental culture, and as such doomed to extinction by the gradual progress of christianity and civilization. In the Namacqua dialect the four gospels have been translated by the Rev. Mr. Schmelten, of the London Missionary Society, whose wife, a pious native, was of great assistance to him in this laborious undertaking; they have been printed by the Bible society. Dr. Van der Kemp published at Bethelsdorp a part of a catechism in the Hottentot dialect. Mr. Boyce had the curiosity to compile a sketch of the grammatical peculiarities of the Hottentot language, as spoken by the Gonaqua Hottentots in Kafir land; but we trust that the prevalence of Dutch or English among the few tribes which yet speak these uncouth and unpronounceable dialects, will soon supersede the necessity of further literary labours, which in this language appear hitherto to have been more curious than useful.

“The second division or family of the South African languages comprises the various dialects spoken by the Kafir and Bechuana tribes to the east and north of the colony. These two languages resemble each other in grammatical construction, and a very great many words are common to both, as may be clearly seen by a comparison of the grammar of the Sichuana or Bechuana language by the Rev. J. Archbell, Wesleyan

missionary, now printing, with Mr. Boyce's grammar of the Kafir language. The Bechuana language differs from the Kafir in this—it has no click, and the sound of the letter *r* is of frequent occurrence, whereas in Kafir one-third of the words have the clicks, and the sound of *r* is unknown; so that in foreign words the natives invariably pronounce *r* as *l*. The Bechuana has also a dual number which is unknown in Kafir. Languages resembling the Kafir and Bechuana in grammatical construction, and in their radical words, appear to be spoken throughout the whole extent of South Africa. In Congo, Angola, Loango, and among the Damaras, on the west coast, the dialects there spoken resemble the Kafir in their grammatical construction, and many of the words of the language spoken near Mombas on the east coast, are pure Kafir and Bechuana.

“The Kafir language has many traces of its eastern origin in the frequent occurrence of words which are plainly of Hebrew or Arabic extraction; and in the use of what grammarians technically term *epenthetic* and *paragogic* letters or syllables. Barrow's theory of the Arabic origin of these tribes will account for this, and the alterations which the language has undergone since the migration from Arabia, may be easily accounted for, from the influence of Negro dialects upon the original language, and other alterations, brought about by the revolutions of several thousand years. The most striking peculiarity of the Kafir is the Euphonic concord; which immediately strikes a student, whose views of language have been formed upon the examples afforded by the inflected languages of ancient and modern Europe; with the exception of a change of termination in the ablative case of the noun, and five changes of which the verb is susceptible in its principal tenses,

the whole business of declension, conjugation, &c., is carried on by prefixes, and by the changes which take place in the initial letters or syllables of words subject to grammatical government. As these changes, in addition to the precision, they communicate to the language, promote its euphony, and cause the frequent repetition of the same letter, as initial to many words in a sentence, this peculiarity, upon which the whole grammar of the language depends, has been termed the *Euphonic* or *Alliteral concord*.*

“These euphonic changes are governed by the nouns, of which there are 12 classes, (both numbers included,) each class of nouns in its plural, in its government of another noun in the genitive case, in its union with pronouns and adjectives, and in its government of the third person of the verb, differs from the other classes, using a separate letter or syllable; thus there are in Kafir 12 different ways of saying he, she, it, or they; and this peculiarity gives a remarkable degree of precision to the language.”

But not only have the Wesleyan Missionaries succeeded in unravelling the intricacies of this before unknown language, and in fixing a standard for future students, but they have also made the most praiseworthy and successful efforts in the work of translation; and the result is, that, up to the present day, there have been translated into the Kafir tongue, and printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press at Graham's Town, the books of the prophet Joel and Isaiah, and the gospel by St. Luke; together with the first part of the Conference Catechism, the

*Vide Grammar of the Kafir language, by W. B. Boyce, Wesleyan missionary, page 3. As far as we have heard the only European adult who has acquired the true pronunciation of the Kafir language is Mr. H. Dugmore, Wesleyan missionary; and who in less than one year, by the assistance of a fine ear and retentive memory, succeeded in mastering its several difficulties. In studying the language he attributes his success to a rigid adherence to the principles laid down in Mr. Boyce's grammar, and which he has aptly enough termed *the mountain mover*.

Liturgy of the Church of England, and a hymn book : several elementary works and lessons have also been composed and printed for the use of the schools. The book of Psalms is in course of printing ; all the books of the old testament, except the minor prophets, as well as those of the new testament, have been translated and are ready for the press ; and a complete dictionary of the Kafir language is also preparing by Mr. Dugmore.*

With respect to any other advantages which the natives have derived from the labors of the Wesleyan missionaries, it will require no effort to shew that they have been many and important. It is not too much to say that their influence has been felt throughout the entire length and breadth of Kafirland ; whilst the striking fact that every chief, with the exception of Hintza, with whom they had established missions, continued, during the late disturbances, in amity with the colony is sufficient of itself to stamp their labors with the decisive mark of public utility, and to entitle them to general approbation.

The following is the state of the several missions at the close of the year 1834 :—

	Members.		Average Sabbath Con- gregations.	Average Week Day Congrega- tions.	Day School.	Sunday School.
	Full.	On Trial				
Wesleyville,	70	5	400	100	50	180
Mount Coke,	7	3	150	40	30	50
Butterworth,	28	13	300	100	80	100
Clarkebury,	14	6	150	50	36	60
Morley,	24	11	400	100	50	300
Buntingville,	12	6	400	80	22	210
	155	44			268	900

*The British and Foreign Bible Society, with that noble liberality for which it is distinguished, has made the Wesleyan Society a grant of 500 reams of demy paper to aid them in the prosecution of their important work.

We have no feeling in common with those who would detract from that just applause which is due to the christian missionary,—to him who voluntarily resigns the enjoyments of civil life, and who, from a principle of benevolence, braves an inhospitable climate, visits the abodes of squalid wretchedness, and endeavours to snatch from the iron grasp of cruel paganism the victim of superstition, of barbarous, obscene, and hence debasing rites and customs.

Those who take a superficial or hasty view of missionary labours almost invariably err in not making that allowance for the imperfections of humanity which are common to all. Missionaries are but men of like passions with others; they have their failings, their prejudices, and their weaknesses; but then they are, as it were, “lights shining in a dark place;” and hence defects which in others pass without observation, are in them immediately detected and uncere- moniously condemned. Nor are their peculiar trials and difficulties sufficiently understood; the tenets of the christian religion are directly opposed to the most darling sins and usages of savage life; it lays the axe at once to the root of their pagan customs and criminal indulgences; and it necessarily happens that this labour is commenced amongst those whose habits are deep-rooted and inveterate. To use the language of holy writ, “their minds are darkened through the ignorance that is in them;” and unless the Spirit of God brood over this chaos, and command that there “be light,” human effort will be hopeless, and human expectation vain.

To argue that great evils have arisen from the mistaken zeal and indiscreet conduct of some who have borne the missionary character in no way affects the argument; nor ought odium to be cast on a cause

because its agents or its supporters may be mistaken in their views or even unscrupulous in the means adopted by them in arriving at a particular end. That such is sometimes the case has been proved to a demonstration at our own door, and from the ill effects of which the colonists are now suffering; still this does not justify those who for the faults or mistakes of an individual denounce the cause with which, unfortunately he may have been identified.

It is deeply to be regretted, but still it is a fact which cannot be denied, that a spurious philanthropy has now-a-days become fashionable; and luckily for those who have adopted the mode they incur little *personal* risk in making a profession of it. They have no chance of being actually called upon, with the amiable and devoted *Howard*, "to dive into the depths of dungeons,—to plunge into the infection of hospitals,—to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain,—and to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt." On the contrary they may sit down perfectly at ease, and by merely giving assent to, and maintaining one simple dogma—namely that every black man is oppressed, and every white man in his neighbourhood an oppressor, they may take rank amongst those who claim homage as benefactors to their kind; though perhaps the cause they advocate—and of which they know as much as of the constitution of the moon—is neither based on truth, supported by proof, or defended on the ground of impartial, even-handed justice.

In all matters of this kind we may confidently hope that the world, as it grows older, will become wiser. The bubble may sparkle for a moment, but it must soon burst and betray its unsubstantial character. In

the meantime let those whose minds are still unfettered by prejudice exercise that discrimination which is due from those who lay claim to the character of humane and reasonable beings ; let them pause before they condemn in the mass, on rash and unsupported assertions, those who have a powerful claim upon their sympathy and their benevolence. The inhabitants of this frontier ask for no favor, but they claim justice ; and they make no demand, nor bring forward any charge, which they are not prepared to defend and support by indubitable proof.

In putting themselves on their defence before their country, and in denouncing that systematic opprobrium which has been cast upon the inhabitants of this colony—in exposing its mischievous consequences, its falsehood, and its cruelty—they are eminently aiding the friends of religion ; they are clearing away a formidable obstruction which has hitherto, in this quarter of the world, frustrated the benevolent designs of its real friends, and they are serving the common but sacred cause of truth and of justice.

But to quit this digression, it may be remarked that missionary efforts, when undertaken in a proper spirit and conducted in a corresponding manner, are of vast importance, not alone to those without, but also to those within the pale of civilization. The tenets of christianity are of themselves eminently calculated to improve mankind in every relation of life, as well as to point them to happiness “which is uncorruptible, undefiled, and which passeth not away.” But without taking this highest ground we may argue the subject on the plea of the actual benefits which have been derived by society in our own immediate neighbourhood, and within the sphere of our own acquaintance. What, for instance, would have been known

of Southern Africa had it not been for missionary perseverance? and how limited comparatively would have been our *trade* had it not been for the assistance and information afforded by missionaries? Argument on this point would be out of place when we may at once refer to indubitable facts in support of our position: and not only shew that our traders have experienced great attention from such quarters, but that travellers also, whose object has been the promotion of science or the gratification of a laudable curiosity, have likewise shared in the advantages which spring from the progress of missionaries amongst a barbarous and but partially known people. To the weary and often exhausted traveller, or to the perplexed trader, the sight of a mission station has been, like an *Oasis* in the desert, cheerfully animating; it is a patch of fertility thrown into deep contrast by the sterility and wretchedness which reign around.

Not only has this been felt and acknowledged in reference to missions established in Kafirland, but in the country beyond our northern boundary a similar testimony has been afforded by those who have gratefully recorded the assistance afforded to them in the hour of need. Thus it is impossible to read the statement made by the traveller *Thompson*, of the simple-hearted kindness of the missionary Bartlett, without feeling esteem for the man who appears so well to have understood, and so effectually to have discharged the sacred rites of hospitality. Had it not been for this assistance, afforded at the very crisis of their fate, and the information afterwards obtained from this missionary, there is every reason to believe that the whole party would have perished in the desert.* Again we have a more recent instance in the case of

*Vide Thompson's Travels and Adventures, vol. 2, page 59.

the enterprizing traveller *Bain*, who, after being plundered of all his property by the warriors of *Maselikatse*, succeeded by incredible effort, and when nearly ready to perish, in reaching the *French* missionary station at *Mateto*, in the *Bechuana* country, and where he was received by Messrs. *Lemue* and *Rolland* with the utmost kindness and affection. "During the four days," says he, "that I remained with these worthy people, we received every attention to our comforts and wants that children could expect from their parents under such circumstances; Mr. *Lemue* kindly supplying us from his wardrobe with every thing which our distressed situation required."

Similar testimony is borne by this witness to the kindness of Mr. *Moffat*, connected with the *London Missionary Society*, and whose character, without our feeble testimony, has arrived at an enviable distinction amongst those who have really benefitted mankind. His exertions have been arduous and incessant, but they have been directed to one object, and in the result have been eminently successful. "The improvements at *Kuruman*," says Mr. *Bain* writing in 1834, "since my last visit are truly astonishing. There I found a printing press in full activity, with a native compositor, taught by Mr. *Moffat*, who you know is an adept at every thing. The mission houses and gardens are extremely neat, comfortable, and unassuming; but the new church is a stupendous work for the means which they have had of building it, and would do honor to any christian community of much longer standing than the missionary town of *Kuruman*. What pleased me much, both here and at *Mateto*, was to see large fields of yellow wheat belonging to the natives, vieing with the crops of the missionaries, having been well cultivated and irrigated."

It would be tedious to multiply examples ; although we have heard many such testimonies from those in no way connected with the societies which support such missions ; the foregoing will amply suffice to prove the signal advantages which have been derived by travellers and traders from the labors of missionaries, and who have justly been styled pioneers in the grand march of improvement and civilization. We have treated this subject entirely as one of worldly policy, as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence ; and have shewn that on a principle of what is termed self-interest the cause of missions is deserving the decided and constant co-operation of the world. But to the christian we need not urge any such motive. He perceives it recorded in those scriptures which are the rule of his life and the standard of his faith, that “ The knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth ; ” he finds a command issued, “ Go ye out and preach the gospel to every creature ; ” and in accordance therewith he either goes forth, or he aids to the best of his ability, this great and important work ; leaving the issue of the undertaking in the hands of Him before whom “ all the nations of the earth are but as the small dust of the balance.”

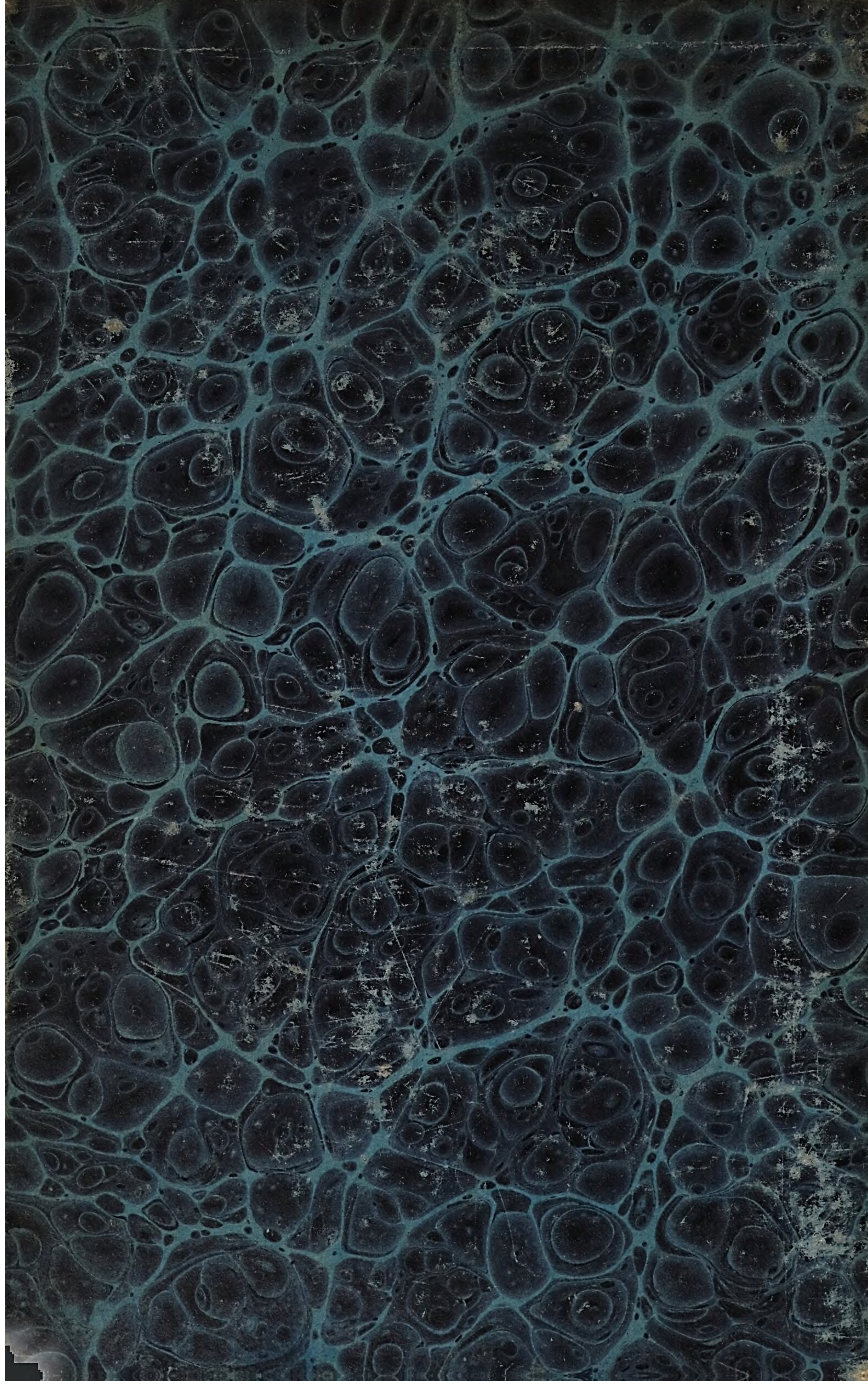
With reference to our own particular case there is perhaps no part of the globe where so many inducements are held out for steady, hearty, co-operation in missionary efforts as this ; and it is not a little consolatory to reflect that in no part of the world—and we declare it in defiance of all those calumnies which have been so unjustly cast upon them—has a more ardent missionary spirit been manifest than amongst the British settlers of Albany. Still there is much to be done. We desire to live peaceably and securely ; and we are anxious to restrain those who have-

injured us from future aggressions. A system of coercion may partially effect this—and we claim from our country just and reasonable protection—but if we aim at a radical cure, we must make use of a yet more powerful remedy, a *moral* force must be called into exercise; the work of civilization must progress; and if this be carried forward with spirit there can be no doubt of the result:—in one word you oppose to the predatory incursions of determined robbers the barrier of HONEST PRINCIPLE, GOOD ORDER, AND SOCIAL GOVERNMENT.

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Part 3d.

SKETCH OF KAFFRARIA.—Its boundary, extent, and features,—The depopulated country,—Its character and extent,—Aggressive advances of the Kafir on the territory of the Hottentot,—Cross the Kei,—Obtain footing in the Zuurveldt,—Expulsion therefrom in 1793. GENEALOGY of the several Kafir tribes,—Their laws of succession,—On consanguinity,—Amount of population. FORM OF GOVERNMENT,—Judicial proceedings,—Horrors of witchcraft,—Character of Makanna. MILITARY FORCE.—Mode of warfare,—of agriculture,—of preserving grain,—of hunting.—Curious notions respecting the elephant. THEIR RELIGION.—Progress of civilization,—Mission of Dr. Van der Kemp in 1799,—of Messrs. Read and Williams,—of Messrs. Brownlee and Thomson,—Proceedings of the Glasgow Society,---of the Wesleyan Society.---Progress of translation,—peculiarities of the native dialects. Concluding remarks.



Godlonton, Robert

Introductory remarks to a narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes
into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope, A.D. 1834-35

Graham's Town 1835-1836

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